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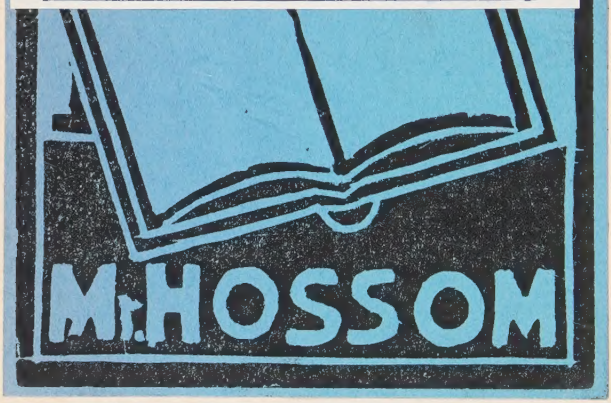

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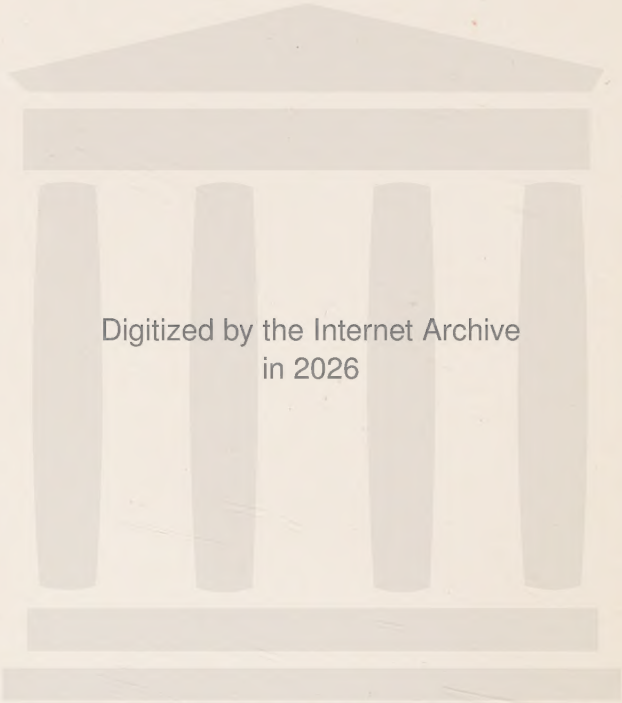
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THE

FORM OF BAPTISM IN SCULPTURE AND ART

BY

JOHN T. CHRISTIAN, A.M., D.D., LL.D.

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PREFACE.

For a number of years the Author has been gathering material on the subject treated in this volume. There is no book known to the writer on the Form of Baptism in Sculpture and Art in the English Language; and only one in the German language. From time to time enquiries have come requesting detailed information which it was somewhat difficult to furnish. This work does not profess to be exhaustive; but the Author thinks that it is extensive enough to satisfy all who do not care to technically study the theme. In that instance the Bibliography at the end of this volume will be of service.

Some years have passed since the Author began an investigation of the history of the Form of Baptism; he has worked in many of the large libraries in this country and abroad; he has examined many of the monuments of baptism; and he is more thoroughly convinced, if possible, than ever that the Apostolic act of baptism was dipping and that such continued the form for many ages after Christ.

This work is calmly presented to the candid reader. It is written in no controversial spirit;

but is an effort to truthfully present the facts from authoritative sources upon a subject which requires a discrimination of thought and no dogmatism of statement.

THE AUTHOR.

THE FORM OF BAPTISM IN SCULPTURE AND ART.

I.

THE IMPAIRED VALUE OF THE CATACOMB PICTURES.

The Baptismal controversy is constantly shifting ground; but the more the subject has been investigated the more certain does it appear that the original act of baptism was immersion. The very latest argument, of those who defend the practice of affusion for baptism, is that the Catacombs, in Rome, and, in fact, all of the earlier pictures of baptism are representations of pouring or sprinkling.

Dr. Warfield of Princeton Theological Seminary, Presbyterian, has artfully put this argument. His words are: "As we review the whole series of representations of the baptism of Christ, we are struck with the absence from it of decisive representations of complete immersion; it may be interpreted as a series of immersions, but in any

case it is strangely full of hints of incomplete immersion, which can only be accounted for by the influence of contemporary habit in baptizing upon the artist, as he attempted to depict this historical scene. It is hardly possible to understand the manner in which the artists have pictured to themselves the baptism of Christ, without postulating familiarity on their part with baptism as something else than a simple immersion" (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* October, 1896, p. 621). The only difficulty is that the artist could not represent the whole process of immersion, which is a continuous act, by one picture, and so "a series of immersions" are necessary for an artist when he would portray the entire scene of an immersion. But how this statement of the case can aid a Presbyterian, who does not practice immersion of any kind, much less a "series of immersions," it takes the ingenuity of Dr. Warfield to explain. He says: "The crowning indication, however, that we have found the true form of Christian baptism in a rite performed on an erect recipient, standing in water, and completed indifferently by sinking the head beneath the water or raising the water above the head, is supplied by the fact that, on assuming this

as the early practice, we may naturally account for the various developments of later practice. In such a rite as this, both later immersion and affusion can find a natural starting point; while the assumption of either a pure immersion or a pure affusion as a starting point will render it exceedingly difficult to account for the rise and wide extension of the other mode" (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* p. 653.) One can scarcely believe that a learned professor could seriously have written these words. If he is right then there is perhaps not a baptized person on earth at this moment, and according to this supposition perhaps there never was a baptized Presbyterian.

There have been many hindrances in the way of a thorough discussion of the baptismal pictures. Those who practice immersion have taken but little interest in the subject since they have always contended that the only source of authority was the New Testament. A further difficulty lies in the fact that most of the books on Christian Art and Monumental Christianity are in Italian, or other foreign languages, and consequently are not well known to the American public. Moreover such books are expensive and not very accessible,

But perhaps the greater reason is that the value of the pictures is of such an indifferent character

A GALLERY IN THE CATACOMBS.

that there is no great inducement to quote them as authority.

The author has sought first sources and has given authority for every statement made. The writ-

ers quoted, for the most part belong to those denominations who practice sprinkling for baptism, and where Baptist writers are quoted that fact is carefully stated.

THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

The Catacombs were the burying places of the early Christians. They are huge subterranean caverns, laid out in streets. The combined length of these streets is hundreds of miles. The Christians began to bury in the Catacombs at an early day, and they continued to use them for several hundred years. At length they fell into disuse. In time they were filled with rubbish and lost to sight, and their existence well-nigh forgotten. By a fortuitous circumstance they were rediscovered May 31, 1578. Since that time various persons have made investigations and given the results to the world; but it is especially in our times that the Catacombs have been subjected to the most critical research.

The walls of the Catacombs were adorned with pictures. Some of these pictures are supposed to represent the act of Christian baptism; and Pedobaptists claim that they represent pouring or

sprinkling. It will be pointed out that these conclusions are hasty and not well founded.

From the nature and variety of difficulties in the way the subject should be approached with calmness and deliberation. It is easy to be mistaken; indeed, it is difficult not to be frequently misled. The great authorities on the Catacombs are those who have supplemented sound knowledge of "philology and history" by years of personal investigation of these tombs. Bossio spent thirty years in this work; Boldetti and Marangoni thirty years; Lereoux D'Argencourt fifty years; and in the last century, Marchi ten years; Garrucci and the brothers De Rossi spent over thirty years in absorbing study of these enigmatic remains. It is not, therefore, the part of wisdom to express a hasty opinion concerning the Catacombs. As Northcote and Brownlow, the English Roman Catholic authorities, say: "It is not a field for hasty conjectures, or the free indulgence of a lively imagination, but a real science, which cannot be mastered without much learning, prudence and integrity" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 51).

On the most vital points connected with this

subject writers are constantly changing their opinions; and scarcely two writers agree on the proper interpretation of any given picture. Some of the conclusions which were regarded as fixed, even by such writers as Garrucci and De Rossi, are now abandoned by equally learned and patient investigators. Wharton B. Marriott, the English Archæologist, gave this as his conclusion: "For all that has yet been determined concerning them is confessedly imperfect. And though there is much that may now be regarded as conclusively established, there is also much that is still, and probably will yet remain, subject for conjecture, rather than for well grounded and certain conclusion" (Marriott, The testimony of the Catacombs, p. 2).

So painfully was this manifest to Dr. Warfield that he remarked: "Where, then, it may be asked are we to go for knowledge of really primitive baptism? If the archæology of the rite supplies ground for no very safe inference, where can we obtain satisfactory guidance? Apparently only from the New Testament itself" (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* October, 1896, p. 644). In this statement, Dr. Warfield is correct. The New Testament is

the only authoritative source for the primitive act of baptism but that act was always immersion.

PICTURES DIM WITH AGE.

It must not be forgotten that the Catacomb pictures given in the books are what the investigators suppose them to be rather than what they are. They are dim with age, and in many cases entirely effaced. So strikingly true is this that De Rossi, a Roman Catholic, who is anxious to have them appear in as favorable light as possible, is compelled to admit that the pictures as found in the books are not correct. He says: "But we have avoided giving unnecessary annoyance to the eye of the spectator, and destroying the character of the painting, by marking in dark tints all the holes or other accidental disfigurements which have happened to the fresco in the course of so many centuries. The only result of this would be that the painting would come out a mass of black spots, smothered, as it were, in a tempest of darkness. On the other hand, nothing has been supplied; the plaster is represented as damaged, only I have indicated the spots very lightly, in order that this external and accidental damage might not alter the original features of these venerable paintings;

and the colors which are here and there lost are represented as they appear to-day in the originals" (De Rossi, Imagines selectæ Deiparæ Virginis in cœmeteriis suburbanes udo depictæ, Romæ, 1863, Præfat).

Northcote and Brownlow likewise admit: "As to our illustrations, we are well aware that they cannot claim to be considered fac-similes of the paintings which they are intended to represent. In some of them perhaps we could have wished to see the coarser lines and ruder strokes, but we do not think it possible for any engraving really to convey the exact archaic aspect of the originals; and we have stated in our preface the reasons which have led us not to attempt to reproduce the faded colors and broken surfaces precisely in their present condition" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 16).

If the pictures of De Rossi are unreliable those of the French writer, Perret, are equally so. *The Edinburgh Review*, in an able editorial, on the pictures as presented by Perret, says: "But the enthusiasm of art, or an excess of religious zeal, has led the artist employed in this publication to overdo it. Instead of giving to the world a fac-

simile of the half-obliterated wall paintings, or of the rude and sometimes unintelligible forms, indicated on the tombs, they have thrown into the drawings the force, colour and expression which these designs appear to them originally to have possessed. The result is that the copies convey an impression of more finished performances than can be discovered in the present condition of the originals" (*Edinburgh Review,* vol. 109, p. 93. January, 1859). Or as Milman puts it they lack "only two things, truth and fidelity" (*The Quarterly Review,* London, vol. 118, p. 57, note).

If it is objected that the De Rossi pictures are more reliable than those of Perret, Dean Milman responds: "But while we treat M. De Rossi's artistic argument with much respect, he must permit us to say that his historical argument for the antiquity of these paintings, however ingenious, seems to be utterly worthless. It rests on very doubtful legend, on the forced association of names, arbitrarily brought together" (Ibid, p. 76). C. De Faye likewise says of De Rossi: "He gives, or he seems to give, more confidence than is meet to documents without any value and to legends without authority" (*British and Foreign*

Evangelical Review, 1882, vol. 31, p. 424).

Such is the condition of the pictures we are asked to accept as certain proof of pouring for baptism. If the pictures were actually given "they would be lost in the tempest of darkness;" and they have no claim as fac-similes. Lord Lindsay, a high authority, uses contemptuous and sneering terms of all of the pictures of the Catacombs. He says that they are "poor productions, in which the meagerness of invention is only equalled by the feebleness of execution" (Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, vol. 1, p. 39).

If the pictures were originally faded they are now in much worse condition. Parker, the great Oxford scholar, says that the chemicals "employed by the French artists to bring out the colors temporarily, have caused them to decay more rapidly since, until now they have almost disappeared" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 165). One of the most recent articles on the subject was written by De Waal, an archæologist, who is thoroughly conversant with the present condition of the pictures. He takes all of his cuts from Wilpert the German Catholic archæologist of the Pope and De Waal assigns as his reason for not

copying from the originals that "the colors have faded out" (*Roemische Quartalschrift,* 1896, No. 4, p. 336). Prof. Joh. Pet. Kirsch, Professor of Christian Archæology, A. D. 1900, declared that Wilpert had the "only exact reproductions of baptismal representation of Catacomb paintings," and that all other productions of these paintings are inexact (Letter to myself, June 11, 1900). According to these statements the figures have faded out, and we are narrowed down to one Catholic author for an exact reproduction of the baptismal pictures. This Catholic author is a recent one and probably never saw the pictures before they were blotted out. These facts are taken from the most scholarly sources, and lead us to conclude that the so-called baptismal pictures can be of no great value in determining the form of baptism.

RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE.

It may also be necessary to warn the reader that the Catacomb paintings have been the battle ground of conflicting disputes, and that religious prejudice has had much to do with shaping the so-called facts, if not the form of the pictures themselves. This is admitted on every hand. Northcote and Brownlow say: "It is necessary, there-

fore, for all writers, whether Catholic or Protestant, to keep strict watch over themselves in handling this topic, lest their religious prejudices should unconsciously warp their judgment" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 3).

Parker, Episcopalian, says: "So many popular delusions are current on the subject of the Roman Catacombs, that it is difficult to obtain a hearing for a plain, unvarnished tale, in which the truth has been the only object sought for. These popular delusions are not confined to one party or one side; there are extremes both ways, and both are equally erroneous, they have unfortunately been made use of as weapons of polemical controversy, and the conclusions wished for on each side have been jumped at without proper examination of the foundations on which they are built. The same test must be applied to the legends respecting them that are applicable to all other legendary history, and they cannot be received as authentic without examination" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 3).

With such facts as these it would not be safe to be dogmatic in regard to the teachings of the bap-

tismal pictures of the Catacombs. The very best that can be done is to follow with caution the ablest writers and authorities. In this way, probably, approximate truth may be obtained.

II.

THE UNCERTAIN DATE OF THE CATACOMB PICTURES.

There are elements of great uncertainty as to the date of the Catacomb pictures. Eminent scholars differ by hundreds of years on this very important point. The date of a picture has much to do with its authority on a question of this kind. For example: If a picture of undoubted authenticity could be found of the first or second centuries, setting forth immersion, sprinkling or pouring as the act of baptism, it would be of immense value; but if the same picture should be of the ninth or tenth century it would be of no value in regard to the form of baptism in the Apostolic age. If there should be great uncertainty as to the date of a given picture, the value of such a picture would be materially lessened.

Catholic writers make for these frescoes the most extravagant claims of antiquity. The reasons for this are apparent. By them they desire to prove image worship, Mariolatry, and other Catholic superstitions. De Rossi, while laying

great claims to antiquity for some of the pictures, is careful never to assert it in so many words. Northcote and Brownlow, his English translators and commentators, dogmatically assert what their master only intimates. But even they are compelled to admit: "It is not pretended with reference to this chronological arrangement of the paintings in the Catacombs that we have arrived at mathematical accuracy. De Rossi gives the dates we have named only in the closest approximation to the truth that can be made, not as the very truth itself, which cannot now be ascertained" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 143).

Writers who are more independent and actuated by no such motives give to the pictures a much later origin. J. H. Parker, C. B., F. S. A., of Oxford University, as eminent an Archæologist as Commendatore De Rossi himself, maintains: "Another popular delusion is, that the fresco paintings in the Catacombs belong to the age of the martyrdoms, that is, the second and third centuries; this is entirely a mistake. De Rossi is indeed careful never to assert it, but the popular belief is so completely implied in his great work

through-out, that the abridgers of it, both English and French, have asserted it without hesitation. The fact is, that fully THREE FOURTHS OF THE PAINTINGS BELONG TO THE LATEST RESTORATIONS OF THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES; and of the remaining fourth part, a considerable number are of the sixth century, painted originally in the time of John I., who was Pope A. D. 523, and who made one Catacomb and restored two others; and the same paintings occur in all three, but some of them were damaged in the siege of the Lombards, soon after they were painted, and restored by John III. within the same century; traces of early restorations can be seen upon them. Still there are many paintings of the fourth and fifth centuries; the earliest are the common 'Good Shepherd,' and certain well-known Scripture subjects. The history of Jonah was the fashion chiefly in the fifth century, and this is the most common of all the subjects in the Catacombs, and many of them have been restored in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the early Catacombs of Prætextatus and Nereus and Achilleus, there are paintings of the second and third centuries, but

they are not of religious subjects at all, and might as well be the decoration of a Pagan Tomb as of a Christian Catacomb; they are the cultivation of the vine in Prætextatus, and the four seasons in Saint Nereus; each season is easily recognized by the produce of the time of the year, and each has the attendant genius, which looks more like Pagan than Christian art. THERE ARE NO RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS BEFORE THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE, and during the fourth and fifth centuries they are confined entirely to Scriptural subjects. There is not a figure of a saint or martyr before the sixth century, and very few before the eighth, when they become abundant. Among these in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus is a figure of Saint Cyprian, the African bishop, which has led the faithful Romans to believe that he was buried in that Catacomb, whereas, there is no doubt that he was a martyr, and was buried in Africa" (Parker, the Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, pp. 11, 12).

Renan confirms Parker and assigns the earliest pictures of the Catacombs to the fourth century (Renan, Marc. Aurele, p 343).

Schaff says: "The age of the earliest pictures

remains a matter of uncertainty and doubt" (Schaff. The History of the Christian Church, vol. 2, p. 268).

Lanciani, of the University of Rome, a competent critic, says that "the date of the various groups of excavations is a very difficult thing to ascertain" (*The Atlantic Monthly,* July, 1891, p. 15). "The walls and ceilings," he continues, "were at first simply whitewashed, or rather plastered with fine stucco, with plain decorations in fresco colors. At a later period, probably after the peace of Constantine, the nitches were profusely ornamented with polycrome mosaics, and the walls inlaid with oriental marbles."

The Edinburgh Review says: "The Catacombs consequently abound far more in memorials of the third century than in the preceding times; and it is to this later age of the subterranean church that the principal ecclesiastical arrangements and decorations, which are still to be seen in the Catacombs, must be ascribed" (*The Edinburgh Review,* vol. 109, p. 106. January, 1859).

The Christian Observer says: "Yet we may say, speaking generally, that the latest date to any of the pictures in the Catacombs, is the middle of

the ninth century, whereas, in the mosaics and frescoes of churches above ground, we have a series, which commences indeed shortly after the close of the fourth century, but which IN THE FORM THEY NOW PRESENT, may belong to any period between the fourth century and the present time" (*The Christian Observer,* vol. 69, p. 824. November, 1869).

Dr. Fox, a Lutheran, says: "It is probable that the most of the paintings were made by and for the pilgrims in the seventh and eighth centuries" (The Church of the Catacombs, *Lutheran Quarterly,* October, 1892, vol. 22, p. 579).

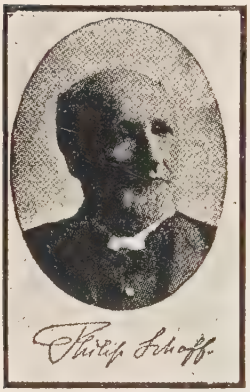
There are many considerations which would convince the impartial reader that Parker is right and that De Rossi is wrong in regard to the dates of the Catacomb pictures. This may be ascertained by comparing the Catacomb pictures with the same style found in churches. The correspondence is easy to trace, and as the pictures in the churches are known to be of late dates, it follows that the Catacomb pictures must be of equally late dates. Thus it is that Parker reasons, and his reasoning is conclusive. He says: "A comparison of the Mosaic pictures in the

churches with the paintings in the Catacombs, shows clearly, by the style of drawing, that three-fourths of these paintings are of the eighth and ninth centuries; of the remaining part a considerable portion is of the sixth century, of the time of John I., who became bishop and pope A. D. 523. This pope made one cemetery and restored two others; and we have the same subjects and the same style of painting in all three. Other paintings, earlier than the fourth century, are not of religious subjects at all, and cannot therefore be called Christian; they are merely ornamental and nothing more" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, pp. 4, 5).

IMAGE CONTROVERSIES.

Any reader of history knows that between Christians and the Pagans there were the most violent antagonisms. On no point was this more fierce than upon the subject of art. The early Christians denounced Pagan art as debasing and immoral, and so deadly was the enmity of the Christians that they would have nothing to do with pictures. Dr. Schaff has put it none too strongly. He says: "The Ante-Nicene church, inheriting the Mosaic decalogue and engaged in deadly conflict

with heathen idolatry, was at first averse to those arts. Moreover, her humble condition, her contempt for all hypocritical show and earthly vanity, her enthusiasm for martyrdom, and her absorbing expectation of the speedy destruction of the world and the establishing of the millennial kingdom, made her indifferent to the ornamental part of life. The rigorous Montanists, in this respect the fore-runners of the Puritans, were more hostile to art. But even the highly cultivated Clement of Alexandria put the spiritual worship of God in sharp contrast to the pictorial representation of the divine, which cannot be honored, but is only degraded, by sensible material" (Schaff, The History of the Christian Church, vol. 2, pp. 267, 268).



When pictures began to creep into the churches they gave rise to the most violent discussions. These image controversies were not settled until the Sec-

ond Council of Nice (787), in favor of a limited image worship. The Spanish Council of Elvira (Grenada) in 306 first raised a protest, and in the sixty-sixth canon prohibited "pictures in the church lest the objects of veneration and worship should be depicted on the walls."

It would not be reasonable to suppose that the early Christians prohibited pictures in their churches, because they regarded them as Pagan, and yet adorned the tombs of their honored dead with them.

The date of the Catacomb pictures must be regarded as in doubt and in much uncertainty; and as this is vitally material in an estimate of their value they cannot be regarded as of authority in the way of vital proof of the form of Christian baptism.

III.

THE CATACOMB PICTURES HAVE UNDERGONE GREAT CHANGES.

One who is laboring under the impression that, while the pictures of the Catacombs are dim and uncertain on account of age, yet that the original pictures are still in existence, is mistaken. The truth is that the pictures have been repeatedly re-touched and re-painted. The popes continually restored them; and no man can be certain that even in outline, much less in detail, the original paintings are still in existence. The Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt declares that an "indefinite amount of restorations have taken place" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, p. 149). He further says: "One word as to the re-touchings. The present writer does not imply, and protests against being considered to imply, any imputation of deceptive intention to those who have made them from the time of St. Paulinus, of Nola, of John or Paschal I., to the present day. When a painting has reached a certain point of decay, it must vanish, so far as the handiwork of the first work-

man goes; but the record of its existence ought to be preserved, and this is best done by faithful restoration, which really amounts to no more than an inscription on the wall, giving careful account of the original fresco. This has been done from time to time; had it been done by dishonest hands or in a spirit of imposture, the ancient re-touchings, in themselves often venerable, though sometimes grotesque would have had a far different appearance now. Even modern restorations are often justifiable; but they should be avowed and registered" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, p. 120).

Northcote and Brownlow, though Roman Catholics, are compelled to admit: "It is recorded of several popes who lived later than the fifth century, that they executed certain works either of repair or of decoration in this or that cemetery" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 1, p. 250).

Here is undoubted proof of restorations and changes.

There is no question as to whom these restorations and changes are to be attributed. The names of the popes, the date of the changes, and the

causes of them, are fully given. There is no harm in knowing the exact truth in regard to these matters.

Look at the facts.

Parker says: "The Catacombs were much damaged during the seige of Rome by the Goths and Vitiges, in 537. 'The churches and the bodies of the holy martyrs were exterminated by the Goths,' says Anastasius. They are restored by the pontiffs, and chiefly by John III. (A. D. 560-574), 'who loved and restored the cemeteries of the holy martyrs. He ordered that oblations (or offerings) should be made, and the Catacombs lighted with lamps on every Sunday in Lent.' This practice was continued in the following century.

"In the various sieges of Rome by the barbarians, the Catacombs were repeatedly rifled in search of treasure, and the Lombards especially are said by Anastasius to have wilfully destroyed many of them" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 31). They were further restored by the Romans in the times of Hadrian I. and Leo III.

Northcote and Brownlow are equally explicit. They say: "But it was during their corruption

under Vitiges, A. D. 537, that they did the greatest injury to the cemeteries. After what we have said in the conclusion of our last chapter, it can be no matter of surprise that the cemeteries should have attracted the attention of these barbarians

THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN.

as they drew near to the city. In the churches they might hope to find silver and gold vessels; and from the churches it was easy to gain access to the Catacombs, in which they might not unreasonably suspect more treasure to be hid. That they effected an entrance, we cannot doubt; for there

is evidence that as soon as the storm had passed, both the clergy and the people set themselves to work to repair the mischief that had been done. In two different Catacombs, of the Jordani and SS. Peter and Marcellinus on the via Labicana, fragments have been found of two copies of an inscription by Pope Vigilus, A. D. 538-555, declaring how it had grieved him to see the memorials that had been set up to the martyrs by Pope Damasus now sacrilegiously broken, and how he had done his best to restore them; and another inscription brings before us the people bearing their share of this work of restoration" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 1, pp. 252, 253).

Lanciani, the Italian Archæologist, giving an account of one of the oldest families buried in the Catacombs, says: "That the mediæval vandals should have laid their hands on the marbles, to burn them into lime or to use them in new constructions, may be easily understood, but the spirit of the destruction of the age seems to have driven them to useless and inexcusable pillage. Every cube of the mosaic painting was wrenched out of its socket, and even the marble coffins . . . .

were split and hammered into atoms, so that all hope of reconstructing them has been given up" (*Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1891, p. 16).

In 731 Pope Gregory III. was a most zealous builder and restorer. Here is an extremely interesting account: "A second devastation of the Catacombs took place in 755, which was even more fatal, because at that time they were reduced to a state of ruin by Astolfus, king of the Lombards. A particular account of this miserable state is given by Paul I., 761, in a letter to John Abbott, published in Labbe's 'Collections of the Councils.' The same prelate removed many of the relics to the churches of St. Stephen and Saint Silvestro *in capite*, which he had then just built, and to several other churches in the city.

"This practice was continued by other pontiffs down to the end of the ninth century, as we are informed by Anastasius, who mentions this in the life of Nicholas I., A. D. 858, the last that he wrote and the continuator repeats the same account of later pontiffs. Simultaneously with this the repairs and ornaments in the Catacombs were carried on, the place where the body of a mar-

tyr had once been buried being still considered sacred after the body had been removed.

"The Catacombs do not appear to have been generally used as places of interment after the fifth century, but the members of families who had vaults continued to bury in them for a long period; in several instances the painted vault has been cut through to insert fresh bodies, after the cubiculum or chapel was full. Some inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries have been found, and are preserved in the crypt of Saint Prassede, and in other places. Many paintings and inscriptions were restored by Hadrian I. in the eighth century, and Leo III. at the beginning of the ninth, after the invasion of the Lombards, as has been said. A large portion of the paintings now remaining in the Catacombs are of this period. For example, those in the sepulchral chapel of S. Cornelius, IN THE CATACOMB OF S. CALIXTUS, published by Signor De Rossi, and INCLUDING MANY OF THOSE USUALLY REFERRED TO IN ENGLAND AS OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY. A comparison of the style of drawing with those of the mosaic pictures in the churches demonstrates this. Although

we have paintings of the second and third centuries, architectural details even of the first, we find no paintings distinctively Christian before the time of Constantine, and Boldetti is in error when he ascribes some paintings in the Catacombs of S. Calixtus to the time of Nero" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, pp. 32, 33). It will be noted that the Catacomb or St. Calixtus is the the one that contains the baptismal pictures which are here declared to be of the ninth century.

Canon Venables gives a satisfactory account of the changes in the pictures. Says he: "With the latter part of the fourth century a new epoch in the history of the Catacombs arose— that of religious reverence. In the time of Pope Damasus, A. D. 366-384, the Catacombs had begun to be regarded with special devotion, and had become the resort of large bands of pilgrims, for whose guidance catalogues of the chief burial places and holy men buried in them were drawn up. Some of these lists are still extant. Pope Damasus himself displayed great zeal in adapting the Catacombs to their new purpose, restoring the works of art on the walls, and renewing the epitaphs over the graves and martyrs. In this later work he em-

ployed an engraver named Furius Philocalus, the exquisite beauty of whose characters enables the smallest fragment of his work to be recognized at a glance. This, in Dean Milman's happy words, 'irreverent reverence, which converted the Catacombs from hidden and secret chambers, where piety might steal down to show its respect or affection for the dead, to, as it were, a great religious spectacle, the scene of devout pilgrimage to thousands,' (Milman, Essays, p. 489)—gave rise to extensive alterations in their construction and decoration, which has much lessened their value as authentic memorials of the religious art of the second and third centuries. Subsequent popes manifested equal ardor, with the same damaging results, in the repair and adornment of the Catacombs, and many of the paintings which cover their walls, which have been too unquestionably assigned to the period of their original construction, are really the work of these latter times. The Catacombs shared in the devastations of Rome by the Goths under Vitiges, in the sixth century, and by the Lombards at a later period; and partly through the spoilation of these barbarian in-

vaders, partly through the neglect of those who should have been their guardians, they sank into such a state of decay and pollution, that, as the only means of preserving the holy remains they enshrined from further desecration, Pope Paul I., in the later part of the eighth century, and Pope Paschal, at the commencement of the ninth, commenced the work of the translation of the relics, which was vigorously carried on by successive pontiffs, until the crypts were almost entirely despoiled of their dead" (Encyclopedia Britannica, Ninth Edition, vol. 5, p. 207). And he concludes his argument with these words: "Whatever be the date of the original pictures, a point on which considerable doubt exists, it is tolerably certain that the *existing* frescoes are restorations of the eighth and even later centuries, from which the character of the earlier work can be only very imperfectly discovered" (Ibid, p. 214).

The conclusion is, therefore, easily obtained, that with the uncertainty as to the date of the pictures, with the constant changes and restorations made by the popes and others, these pictures are of little authority in proving the prac-

tice of sprinkling or pouring for Christian baptism. It will be shown, however, that the pictures undoubtedly teach immersion.

IV.

THE REMOVAL OF THE CATACOMB PICTURES FROM THEIR ANCIENT PLACES.

The value and authority of the Catacomb pictures have also been greatly lessened by the fact that the Catacombs have been plundered and the pictures and other relics have been transferred to museums; even there the arrangements are not such as to give much idea as to their chronological order. Parker states the case correctly. He says: "As the officials of modern times have removed all of the inscriptions from their places, and this part of their history has been rendered obscure on the pretext of preserving them, which could have been done as effectually by keeping the doors locked, and establishing a toll for entering them. A great part of the interest, and nearly the whole of the historical value of the Catacombs, has been destroyed by the want of a chronological arrangement, and by the inscriptions having been collected in museums, arranged and classified according to the objects of the authorities. They

thus possess very little interest compared with what they would have done if left in their places. An inscription of the second or third century is of very different value from one of the eighth or ninth; but it may be convenient for certain objects to mix them together without distinction" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 7).

RUDE AND DEFACED.

Apart from the date, of what merit are the pictures? Schaff says: "They are rude and defaced, and have no artistic merit" (Schaff, Teaching of the Apostles, p. 36). Dean Stanley, the learned Episcopal divine, said in his last book: "By the time we reach the fourth century, the figures are misshapen, rude and stiff, partaking of decadence" (Stanley, Institutions of the Christian Church, p. 230). There can be but one value to them and that is archæological, and that has been shown to be small.

THE HEATHEN ELEMENT.

It is also a fact that the heathen element in the Catacomb pictures is quite as prominent as the Christian. Along with the Christian shepherd is

the Pagan god. "Even the personages of ancient mythology," says Canon Venables, "were pressed into service of early Christian art, and Orpheus, taming his beasts with his lyre, symbolized the peaceful army of Christ; and Ulysses, deaf to the syren's song, represents the believer triumphing over the allurements of sensual pleasure. The person of Christ appeared but rarely, and then, commonly, simply as the chief personage in an historical picture" (Encyclopædia Britannica, Ninth Edition, vol. 5, p. 214).

Parker remarks: "Of the inscriptions found in the seventeenth century in the Catacombs, which are published by Boldetti and others, a large portion are Pagan, and the ingenious attempt to explain away this fact by the assumption that they were all brought there to be engraved on the other side with the names of Christians—is extremely improbable as a general rule; although it is clear that they were so engraved in some instances, it does not follow that these Christian incriptions, called palimpsests, were actually engraved in the Catacombs themselves, and the probability is quite the other way" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 13).

Dean Stanley is even more explicit. He says: "It is astonishing how many of these decorations are taken from heathen sources, and copied from heathen paintings. There is Orpheus playing on his harp to the beasts; there is Bacchus as the god of the vintage; there is Psyche, the butterfly of the soul; there is the Jordan as the god of the river. The Classical and the Christian, the Hebrew and the Hellenic, elements had not yet parted. The strict demarcation which the books of the period would imply between the Christian Church and the heathen world had not yet been formed, or was constantly effaced. The Catacombs have more affinity with the chapel of Alexander Severus, which contained Orpheus side by side with Abraham and Christ, than they have with the writings of Tertullian, who spoke of heathen poets only to exult in their future torments, or of Augustine, who regarded this very figure of Orpheus only as a mischievous teacher of the disparaged, not as a type of the union of the two forms of heathen and Christian civilization. It agrees with the fact that the funeral inscriptions are often addressed *Dis Manibus,* to the funeral spirits" (Stanley, Christian Institutions, pp. 229, 230).

De Rossi, while pleading for the Christian character of the Catacomb pictures, is compelled to admit: "Down to the time of Constantine, the faithful having been brought up in the classical school of art, preserved its whole system of decoration; and imitated their style, even while inventing and composing new groups to represent subjects which were directly inspired and dictated by the new religion" (De Rossi, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 351, 352).

The French writer, Raoul Rochette, says: "The Christian artists seem so dependent on heathen art that they were obliged to borrow from it in the models even for their Biblical subjects; and where such could not be found, and the artists were forced to stand on their own feet, their execution is in the highest degree defective, and may be rather called a simple indication than an artistic representation of the subjects intended." He moreover maintained that the Christian artists were so servile in their imitation of Pagan models, that it led them astray from the teachings of the divine Master, and caused them to introduce false and unseemly details into their representations of the most solemn subjects. Thus, they dared to paint

a goat receiving the caresses of the Good Shepherd; and as this animal had no place in the sacred parable, but, on the contrary, was (in another parable) identified with the wicked, its presence here was to be accounted for on the supposition that the artist was imitating, consciously, or unconsciously, some Pagan composition. Again, they often put into the hands of the same figure the shepherd's reed or pipe; and this, too, could only be the effect of some reminiscence, at least, either of the statue of Pan, or some Pagan shepherd" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, pp. 21, 22).

M. Renan states the case: "Primitive Christian art is really nothing but Pagan art in its decay, or in its lower departments. The Good Shepherd of the Catacombs is a copy of the Aristeus, or from the Apollo Nomius, which figures in the same posture in the Pagan sarchophagi, and still carries the flute of Pan in the midst of the four half-naked seasons, ... Orpheus, Pluto and Prosperine; Pegasus, the symbol apotheosis; Psyche, symbol of immortal soul; Heaven, personified by an old man; the River Jordan, and Victory, figure on a host of Christian monuments" (Ibid, pp. 34, 35).

Mr. Burgeon says: "They were adorned with

symbols and arabesque ornaments, not because it was congenial to the mind of Christianity so to

THE PLACE WHERE JESUS WAS BAPTIZED.

illustrate the faith, but because it was the heathen custom so to honor the dead. Accordingly you are not certain, for a few moments, whether you are

looking on Pagan or Christian work. There are the same fabulous animals in both the same graceful curves, the same foliage, fruit and flowers. Birds appear in both; and the peacock (so common in heathen frescoes) is found to have been appropriated by the early Christians, whether in allusion to the all-seeing eye of God, or not, I venture not to declare" (Burgeon, Letters from Rome, p. 250).

Tyrwhitt, whose book has an introduction written by Ruskin, says: "The Christian symbolist, or parabolic artist, had no more hesitation in using a heathen myth to impress a fact in Christian history, than he had in using Pagan paint or Pagan brushes to record it on the cemetery walls" (Tyrwhitt, Christian Art and Symbolism, p. 77).

There was far more teaching of Paganism in the Catacomb pictures than there was of sprinkling or pouring for baptism. Surely no enlightened man would contend for a moment that this mixture of heathenism and Christianity can be regarded as authoritative; or that we could safely appeal to it as illustrating the New Testament doctrines and teachings.

V.

THE BAPTISMAL PICTURES OF SAINT CALIXTUS AND NUDE IMMERSIONS.

The four pictures, which are said to refer to baptism, found in the Catacomb of St. Calisto, or Calixtus, will now pass under examination. This Catacomb is divided into various departments—the oldest of the chambers is called Santa Lucina. This is declared to be the oldest part of the Catacombs.

All that has been said of the doubtful character of the Catacomb pictures in general applies especially to the pictures in Santa Lucina. Parker says: "The Catacomb of S. Calixtus has been so thoroughly RESTORED IN MODERN TIMES, that it has lost ALL GENUINE CHARACTER, especially that part which is periodically illuminated; the other part has paintings of the eighth century" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 10). Again: "This is the Catacomb usually exhibited to strangers and now used for pilgrimages; its present state is very uninteresting to the

archæologist. The upper part of it nearest the entrance has been so much RESTORED that it has LOST ALL ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE. The paintings in this part have all been renewed, and thereby of necessity have lost all HISTORICAL value" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 87). Once more: "There are still persons, both in England and on the Continent, who recommend and practice the restoration of ancient buildings, paintings and sculptures. It is evident that a work which has been RESTORED BECOMES THE WORK OF THE HAND THAT RESTORES IT. However good the copy may be it is a copy still, and can never be the same thing as the original. Archæologists require to see the works of each generation of man, and learn to distinguish the one from the other by experience and careful observation. It has long been very positively asserted by persons supposed to be well informed on the subject that A GREAT PART OF THE FRESCO PAINTINGS IN THIS CATACOMB ARE MODERN RESTORATIONS" (Ibid, p. 88).

All of this is frankly admitted by Catholics. Northcote and Brownlow say: "However this may be, it is certain that the martyr's tombs became

in time the center of a considerable amount of building, both of a sacred and a domestic career. We have the proof of this in a very long and curious inscription which belongs to St. Paul's *fuori le mura,* where it may still be seen, but in an imperfect and mutilated condition. It was written in the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, and records a great work of restoration which was made at that time by one Eusebius. It states that he 'renewed the whole cemetery'; and it appears from the details which follow that there had been a portico in front of it, supported by marble columns and adorned with pictures, all of which were in ruins. He provided tiles, timber and other material that was necessary for restoring the roof; marble baths also, and benches and buildings for the accommodation of strangers, on so grand a scale as to deserve the name of palatium. He also provided machines for supplying water to the baths; made a fountain or baptistery and chambers around it, and guarded it by railing to keep out the thieves, who had heretofore done much mischief there; he placed the whole in thorough repair, and then began, it would seem, the work of decoration; but this part of the inscription

was never completed; it is only mentioned that he placed on the gates five small statues of bronze. It is also stated in an earlier part of the inscription that having done all that he could for the whole building as long as he was in the world, he left money to his alumni when he died, and they rebuilt from the foundation the entrance to the

A QUIET POOL ON THE JORDAN.

Catacomb (literally to the martyrs), i. e., to the Catacomb of St. Lucina at the back of St. Paul's" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 1, p. 247).

Here are matters of much moment. St. Calixtus was renewed throughout, rebuilt from the foundations and is therefore of no historical value be-

fore the sixth century when this work was done, and since then it has been so frequently renewed that no historical value can be attached to its decorations. It is also distinctly stated that baths and a baptistery were built within it and the baptistery was evidently intended for immersion. And if these pictures were painted for the purpose of adorning the baptistery, as was the custom of those times, they certainly were intended to represent an immersion.

THE FATHERS.

The Catacomb pictures must be interpreted in the light of the literature of the times. There is no means of knowing the name of the author or the date of a single one of the pictures. But of the act of baptism, as practiced by the churches, there is not a particle of doubt. It was performed from the time of Tertullian on by immersion, and, indeed, generally by trine immersion. There are six elaborate descriptions of baptism which have come down to us well known in all the churches of those times and they all prescribe immersion.

The so-called Egyptian Church Acts require that certain deacons enter with the one to be baptized; the presbyter asks for the candidate's con-

fession, and "he shall immerse him three times, while he makes confession every time of his faith" (Gebhard and Harnack, Texts and Researches, vol. 6, c. 4).

The Canon Hippolyte, of the third century, says: "Then he should descend into the waters, and the presbyter should first lay his hand on his head, and ask him thus: 'Believest thou in God, the omnipotent Father?' The candidate shall answer: 'I believe;' then only should he be first plunged into the water, and he (the presbyter) shall relinquish his hand from his head." Further on the Hippolyte says: "When he has ascended from the water, the presbyter clothes him with the eucharistic chrysma, and makes on his face, mouth and front the sign of the cross," etc. (Book, VII).

The Apostolic Constitutions or Canons, in the Greek, the Coptic, and the Latin versions, A. D. 350-400, say: "If any bishop or presbyter does not perform the three immersions of the one admission, but one immersion which is given unto the death of Christ," etc. (Catech. XVII. Patr. Gr. vol. 33, p. 43).

Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D. 386, says: "You are about to descend into the baptistery to be plunged

in water. For he who is plunged in water is surrounded on all sides with water; thus the apostles were baptized in the Holy Spirit, but with this difference, however, that whilst the water can reach only the outer surface of the body, the Holy Spirit cleanses in a mysterious manner the inner soul" (De Off., iii. c. 4. Patr. Lat. vol. 16).

Ambrose of Milan, A. D. 397, says: "In the sacrament of baptism the whole outer man is buried" (Analecta, Bunsen, London, 1854, vol. 2, p. 465; vol. 3, p. 385).

Dionysius Areopagita, A. D. 450, says: "As Jesus, who is the Prince of Life, remained three days and nights in the heart of the earth, so the three immersions represent the three nights, and the three emersions the three days" (De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, c. ii).

Immersion was the unanimous practice of the ancient churches, and the baptism performed in the Catacombs was in harmony with that of the churches. There are many doubts as to the authenticity of the pictures in the Catacombs, but there is no doubt that immersion was the ordinary practice of the Christian world.

THE ROMAN USE.

For the Roman use of immersion there is the testimony of eight hundred years.

Tertullian indirectly bears witness for the second century (Tertullian, De Bapt., c. 4).

Jerome, in the fourth century, says: "We are dipped in water that the mystery of the Trinity may appear to be but one, and therefore, though we be thrice put under the water to represent the mystery of the Trinity, yet it is reputed but one baptism" (Jerome in his note on Eph. 4:5, 6).

Leo, the Great, in the fifth century, says: "Trine immersion is an imitation of the three days' burial, and the rising again out of the water is like the rising from the grave" (Leo, Fourth Letter to the Bishop of Sicily).

Pope Pelagius, of the sixth century, says: "There are many who say that they baptize in the name of Christ alone and by single immersion. But the gospel command, which was given by God himself and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, reminds us that we should administer holy baptism to every one in the name of the Trinity and by trine immersion, for our Lord said to his disciples: 'Go baptize all nations in the name of the

Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (Epist. ad Gaudent, apud Gratian, 4, c. 82).

Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, says: "Let the priest baptize with a triple immersion, but with only one invocation of the Holy Trinity, saying: I baptize these in the name of the Father, (then let him immerse the person once)," etc. (Patrologia Latina, vol. 77, col. 498).

Theodulf, of Orleans, gives the general practice of the eighth century. He says: "We die to sin when we renounce the devil and all of his works; we are buried with Christ when we descend into the font of washing as into a sepulchre, and are immersed three times in the name of the holy Trinity; we rise with Christ when, purified of all of our sins, we come out of the font as from a tomb" (De Ordine Baptismi, c. 11).

The examples cited leave no room to doubt that in Rome, and elsewhere, the normal act of baptism was an immersion in water. Any departure from the form of immersion on the part of the Catacomb pictures would only go to indicate that they were of a later date. We now enter upon an examination of the testimony of the pictures.

SANTA LUCINA.

The oldest of the baptismal pictures is the one found on the wall of the crypt of Santa Lucina in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus. This picture, and the one which follows, is taken from A. De Waal (*Roemische Quartalschrift,* 1896, No. 4, p. 334). The original picture is of doubtful age. Some authors put it as early as the third century while others pronounce it of the fourth or fifth century,

THE EARLIEST BAPTISMAL PICTURE.

or even of much later date. It is supposed to represent the baptism of the Lord in the Jordan. On this point there is much dispute. One of the

latest and strongest German writers, Victor Schultze, recognizes in the picture the baptism of a member of the family owning the sepulcher (Schultze, Die Katakomben, p. 313). Others hold that it represents the rescue of Peter from the waves (Martigny, art. Pierre); while Garrucci interprets it as the saving of the hunted, persecuted Christians from the waves of affliction. He bases his interpretation upon Psalm 69:1-2: "Save me, O God; for the waters have come into my soul. I sink into deep mire, where there is no standing: I come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me" (Garrucci, Storia, i. Theorica, 203). Strzygowski thinks it represents a simple bath. He says: "What interpretation would this simple scene admit in and for itself? None other, but that perhaps one man has bathed in the water and is now about to step on the land, and is assisted by a companion or a servant" (Strzygowski, Iconographie, p. 3). Such are some of the contradictory interpretations of the meaning of the picture. But if it refers to baptism nothing but an immersion would satisfy the conditions of the picture

One at once realizes how improper would be any

dogmatic statement drawn from this picture. The best authorities, however, who interpret it as referring to baptism, declare that the act was immersion.

The Independent, in an editorial written by Dr. Schaff (Schaff, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 36), March 5, 1885, says: "In the earliest known picture of Christ's baptism, a fresco in the crypt of St. Lucina (the oldest part of the Roman Catacomb of St. Calixtus), which is reproduced by Garrucci and Roller, and is assigned to the middle or close of the second century, the Saviour is represented as a young man, undressed, coming up from the river, which reaches over his knees, and joining hands with John the Baptist, clad in a tunic, who aids him in ascending the shore, while a dove with a twig in its mouth, hovers in the air. Whether this baptism represents really the baptism of our Lord, as most of the archælogists hold, or some other person, as Schultze assumes, it seems to give us the closing part of an actual IMMERSION OR SUBMERSION."

Roller, the French archæolgist, says: "Jesus is half plunged into the waters of the Jordan, naked,

without any divine attributes, without the illumination of the forehead, as a simple man, and upon him the Baptist holds the hand to assist him from the river" (Roller, Le Catacombs, vol. 1, p. 102).

Dr. Benjamin Warfield, Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary, says: "Here is Christ represented as being aided by John to step out of the river in which he is still immersed almost up to the middle" (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* October, 1896, p. 620).

C. de Faye says: "Here is a baptism of Jesus, of the third century, almost anecdotal, so realistic is it, the baptized One, half plunged into the water of Jordan, John the Baptist holding out his hand to help him out, and a big pigeon flying above" (*British and Foreign Evangelical Review,* 1882, vol. 31, p. 435. Translated from *Le Temps* by E. Scherer).

Kraus says the picture represents "the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan" (Kraus, Die Christliche Kunst, s. 99).

Dr. Schaff says: "The oldest of these pictures represents the baptized as coming up (after immersion) from the river which reaches over his

knees, and joining hands with the baptizer, who is dressed in a tunic, and assists him in ascending the shore; while in the air hovers a dove with a twig in its mouth. It is usually understood to exhibit the baptism of Christ in the Jordan as he comes out of the water" (Schaff, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 37).

Lundy, Episcopalian, says: "We have here another variety of the scene of nude trine immersion as practiced in the earlier times of the Christian dispensation, bordering upon the days of the baptism of Christ in the Jordan. It is from the oldest part of the cemetery of St. Calixtus; and, like the others, is one of De Rossi's recent discoveries" (Lundy, Monumental Christianity, pp. 384, 385).

Dr. E. Henneke, of Hanover, Germany, who has written a masterly book on "Old Christian Paintings and Old Christian Literature," is highly commended by Prof. Krueger, of Giessen University. He has given much attention to the baptismal pictures. He says: "It is to be remarked that the most ancient of baptismal pictures represents immersion alone." "It seems to me," he further adds, "assured, that an immersion was

intended by the act; otherwise the candidates would not be represented as entirely nude, and standing in the water" (Letter to myself, June 18, 1900).

NUDE BAPTISMS.

The candidate would scarcely be represented as nude if a mere sprinkling of water is intended. The ancient custom was here exemplified. The candidate was brought to the place of baptism, divested of his garments, and immersed. The Emperor Constantine, Clovis, King of France, and other great persons, were baptized in this way. Dean Stanley gives an exact account of this custom. He says: "There was but one hour for the ceremony; it was midnight. The torches flared through the dark hall as the troop of converts flocked in. The baptistery consisted of an inner and outer chamber. In the outer chamber stood the candidates for baptism, stripped to their skirts; and, turning to the West as the region of sunset, they stretched forth their hands through the dimly lit chamber, as if in a defiant attitude toward the evil spirit of Darkness, and speaking to him by name, said: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy

service.' Then they turned like a regiment, facing right around to the East, and repeated, in a form more or less long, the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, which has grown up into the so-called Nicene Creed in the East. They then advanced into the inner chamber. Before them yawned the deep pool or reservoir, and standing by the deacon, or deaconness, as the case might be, to arrange that all might be done with decency. The troop undressed completely, as if for a bath, and stood up naked before the Bishop, who put to each the questions, to which the answers were returned in a loud and a distinct voice, as those who knew what they had undertaken. They then plunged into the water. Both before and after the immersion their bare limbs were rubbed with oil from head to foot. They were then clothed in rich gowns, and received as tokens of the kindly feeling of their new brotherhood, the kiss of peace, and a taste of honey and milk; and then expressed their faith by using for the first time, the Lord's Prayer" (Stanley, Christian Institutions, p. 4).

If this picture of nudity shocks the reader, be re-assured, for Brenner, the great Roman Catholic writer, says: "If all of this at present seems

improper, the noble simplicity and innocence of the early Christians took no offense at it. They

FROM SANTA LUCINA.

had but one thought about the natter, which was the importance and sacredness of the 'mysteries.' They looked at every thing of the natural order in

the same light" (Brenner, Hist. Pretest. Bapt., pp. 22-24).

Augustine enforced the practice of nude immersion with this consideration: "Naked we were born, naked we go to the washing, and naked we go to the gate of heaven." While Cyril addressed the newly immersed thus: "As soon as you approached, you took off your clothing and so were naked. Naked you have been in the sight of all and you did not shame yourself" (Cyril, Catechetical Lectures, XX., 2).

The dove in the picture doubtless represents the Holy Spirit, and the leaf in its mouth, the message of peace. Tertullian explains this. He says: "For just as, after the waters of the deluge, by which the old iniquity was purged—after the baptism, so say of the world—a dove was the herald which announced to the earth the assuagement of celestial wrath, when she had been sent her way out of the ark, and had returned with the olive branch, a sign which even among the nations is a foretoken of peace; so by the self same law of heavenly effect—to earth, that is, to our flesh—as it emerges from the font, after its old sins, flies the dove of the Holy Spirit, bringing us the

peace of God, sent out from heaven, where is the Church, the typified ark" (Tertullian, De Baptisto, VIII). Thus the pictures carry us back to the flood and undoubtedly portray immersion.

From all of these considerations, the river baptism, the statements of those who have given the matter much thought, the candidate being stripped of his clothes, and the plain reference to the flood, would signify that the act was an immersion.

The next picture is also from Santa Lucina; and differs from the former picture in giving a slight covering to the baptized person.

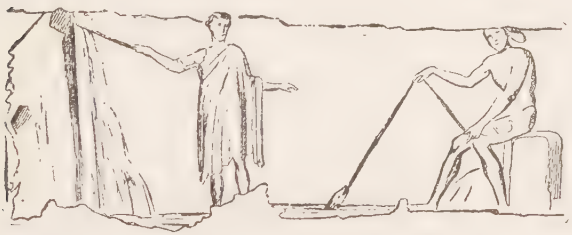
VI.

THE BAPTISMAL PICTURES IN "THE CHAMBER OF SACRAMENTS."

The picture here given is from Strzygowski (Iconographie der Taufe Christi) and is found among the decorations of "The Chamber of Sacraments," in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus. It represents John the Baptist who is about to dip Jesus. The Saviour is depicted as a boy, since the idea was that in baptism we all become children of God. The youth is standing at full heighth. Garrucci writes of this picture as follows: "The candidate has only his feet in the water. The water, then, in which one must be

immersed, is not, in fact, literally represented, but indicated by sign." De Rossi says the picture portrays an immersion; while Roller sees in it "a specimen of immersion."

The next figure is taken from the same Catacomb. The first part of it represents Moses striking the rock from which gushes forth a river. This is a common picture in the Catacombs. The depth and size of the river may be seen from the large fish which has been caught in it. The candidate has been immersed and a spray of water signifies that event. The water flows from him after he has been immersed.



MOSES STRIKES THE ROCK.

There are marked variations in the picture when compared in the several authors. These pictures are taken from Roller (vol. 1, pl. xxiv). The spray is scarcely noticeable in some of them,

while De Rossi makes it prominent. The original picture has perished; and the copies bear marks of additions. De Rossi shows the spray in streaks of greenish color thrown with the brush around the body and above the head of the administrator. It is thought that these sprays were added by a later hand. Some have referred to the picture as a baptism of fire, but if De Rossi's picture is to be trusted it represents a baptism of water. There is much uncertainty and no room for dogmatic teaching.

That the water was not poured upon the candidate is certain since the administrator has no vessel in his hand; and he is in the position of one who had just immersed the candidate. That the water is sufficiently deep for baptismal purposes is shown from the size of the Fish. Both of these figures show an abundance of water.

The most that has been claimed for affusion from this picture is that the candidate was first immersed and then sprinkled. The sprinkling in that instance would be regarded as the completion of the immersion. This is De Rossi's position. In a letter to myself dated Rome, February 17, 1892, he says:

"I will answer with clearness and brevity the questions you propose to me:

"1. The picture in the Cemetery of Calixtus, in which the child baptized is divested of his clothing and has his feet in the water, alludes most certainly to the rite of immersion; but the water not being sufficiently deep for the rite, the baptizer pours the water over the head and over the body of the neophyte. The new text of the Teach-

JESUS BAPTIZED IN THE RIVER.

ing of the Apostles, chapter vii., teaches expressly that when the immersion could not be easily practiced, aspersion or affusion was used. As to the rite of pouring water on the head of a person on dry ground, I do not know any monument that teaches it. I believe that clinic baptism excepted (that is to say, when administered to sick persons lying in bed), the rite of aspersion

or affusion was always administered to the person with the feet in a basin or bowl of water. See the monuments relating to this point in my Bulletin of Christian Archæology, from pp. 7-14, 53-58.

"2. The most ancient and explicit document upon affusion is the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. In Roma Sotterranea, I have also quoted a passage from Tertullian relative to the baptism of the Apostles in the waters of the sea.

"Be pleased to accept the assurance of my high esteem with which I subscribe myself, your devoted Servant in the Lord,

J. B. De Rossi."

The statements of De Rossi are quite remarkable. He does not pretend to quote the New Testament in support of sprinkling. In fact he states by implication that baptism by affusion is unknown in the Scriptures. The oldest document he has found which teaches affusion, is the one found by Bryennios, a few years since in Asia Minor, known as "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." The date of this document, at present, is a matter of much dispute among scholars. Moreover it declares dipping to be the original and normal act of baptism, and that affusion is a substitute for

dipping and only to be used in cases of necessity.

De Rossi further states that this picture is no authority for pouring as practiced by Methodists and Presbyterians. Their "dry ground" baptism, in his estimation, is no baptism at all. No monument teaches such a thing. Of all the absurd things, the most absurd would be to go down into a river, pour water over a man's head, and call it Christian baptism!

Fortunately there is a scholar who is up to De Rossi in information on this subject, and far ahead of him in critical ability, who fully answers the position taken by De Rossi. The scholar to whom reference is made is Victor Schultze, of the University of Leipzig. He says: "The baptized one, a boy of about twelve years, is nude and stands to his knees in water; the act is completed therefore by immersion, for the employment of which at this time there exists manuscript testimony likewise. The water falling down upon the head of the child in the picture has misled De Rossi to a supposition that here exists a mixed form of immersion and aspersion. But such a rite has never in fact existed, and proves itself an illusion by the consideration that aspersion is nothing else

but a substitute for immersion, and has slowly evolved itself from the latter. The first traces of affusion we find among the Agnostics, and this circumstance, and also the blame which Irenæus has for the rite, are proofs that the church in the third century had not yet adopted aspersion. Especially if one admits with De Rossi that the baptismal pictures originated in the time of Tertullian, there is no doubt allowed about the nature of the rite, because Tertullian knows only the baptism by immersion. In the picture the action is caught at the moment when the baptized has arisen from the water, thence the down-falling water rays from his head. If aspersion were meant, one might expect the existence of some vessel, either in the hands of the baptizer as in the later pictures of the baptism of Jesus, or floating about the baptized as for example upon the representation of a later date" (Schultze, Archæologische Studien, p. 55).

Other authorities are equally clear that the picture represents an immersion.

Roller, although ardently defending affusion, in discussing this picture, is compelled to admit: "If immersion were the rite, the immersion could not

be but triple to be effective in certain cases. Without doubt Tertullian's *Ter mergitamur*, thrice we are plunged; without doubt St. Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century signalized a triple immersion and a triple emersion and a triple confession of faith in the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit; and without doubt the Trinitarian controversy accentuated this usage that immersion was considered as a burial of the natural man and the emersion of the birth of the new man" (Roller, Les Catacombs de Rome, Paris, 1881, vol. 1, p. 131).

Garrucci explains the picture thus: "A youth quite nude is immersed entirely in a cloud of water. This is represented as though a bath of a great spray of the green sea is thrown with force toward the person and even above his head. Thus baptism is represented" (P. Raffælle Garrucci, Storia della Arte Christiana. vol. 2, p. 55).

Strzygowski, one of the most recent writers on the pictures, says: "What moment is really represented? John holds the hand on or above the head of Christ, about to immerse the candidate or to perform the usual confirmation? Of the last there cannot be any speech, for it only occurred

after the candidate had left the water. But here Christ still stands in the water. If then the artist wanted to represent the actual performance of baptism, the immersion, it is evident that he gave it in the manner as is pictured in the usual ritual rite" (Dr. Josef Strzygowski, Iconographie der Taufe Christi, Meunchen, 1885, s. 8).

Chrystal, who wrote a strong book on baptism, says of the practice of immersion and affusion: "The mode of affusion with one partial immersion does not appear in history until the thirteenth century, nor affusion until the third, and these only as a compend and as such and such alone it was used during 1,200 years. The early Christians if they had believed Christ baptized by any other mode than immersion, must have believed him baptized by a compend. It is needless to add that not a trace of such an idea appears during the whole period last named."

Perret, who published the most expensive of all the books on the Catacombs, says: "The entire nudity of the baptized catechumen indicates that the baptism was done by immersion, according to the usage of the primitive church" (Louis Perret, Catacombs de Rome, Paris, 1853, vol. 6, p. 41).

Prof. D. Walther, Professor of Church History in National University, Rostock, says: "The representation of baptism in the Catacombs proves that the Apostles also, for Jesus himself baptized not, John 4:2, used immersion and this was the rule." "No representation known to us shows aspersion and this figure cannot mean aspersion." "Because they baptized as a rule by immersion, the representations chose naturally this form" (Letter to myself, August 16, 1900).

Prof. Adolf N. T. Ahnfelt, Professor of Church History and Symbolism, in the University of Lund, Sweden, says: "This figure certainly represents immersion pure and simple. Garrucci declares that the *nembo di aqua* represents only dripping water after the immersion, and I most certainly agree with him. Of course it might have been intended to show the streaming water of affusion, but such an opinion seems very far fetched" (Letter to myself, July 3, 1900).

The *Independent* says: "As the baptized holds his hand closed on the head of the youth, and has no vessel, the surrounding cloud of water seems intended pictorially to represent immersion; in

any case the fresco means more than pouring or sprinkling."

Lundy says: "It speaks for itself. The child is nude; he has had perhaps his third and last plunge, and is receiving confirmation, which, in primitive times, always accompanied baptism, as it still does in the Greek Church" (Lundy, Monumental Christianity, p. 383).

Indeed quite all of the authorities point to this picture as an example of immersion. But if there was any doubt about the act of baptism portrayed in the picture

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE FISH

would settle the dispute. In the fathers one of the most common names by which Christ is called is Ichthus (fish), no doubt relating to his baptism in the Jordan. And in time this figure was applied to any baptized person. Tertullian says: "But we, little fishes, after the example of our Ichthus, Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently abiding in the water, so that the most monstrous creature, who had no right even to teach sound doctrine, know full well how to kill the little fishes by tak-

ing them away from the water" (Tertullian, De Baptismo, c. 1).

Augustine informs us that the Greek Ichthus represents the first letters in Greek for Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, and adds that "owing to the presence in the water of the fish, the basin containing the baptismal waters was called *'piscina,'* a fish pond" (Augustine, De Schism. Donat., lib. ii. c. 2).

Optatus says: "He descends in baptism, in answer to our prayers, into the baptismal font, so that what before was water is now called from the fish *piscina*" (Optatus, Adv. Parmen., lib. iii. 2).

The interpreters of the monuments make the application of the fish to the form of baptism by immersion. The Christians have been immersed in a fish pond.

Northcote and Brownlow say: "Every baptized Christian understood them, whether he lived on the banks of the Tiber, or of the Po, or of the Loirne, the Euphrates or the Nile. In all of these parts of the world, writers of books, poets in hymns, preachers in sermons, artists in paintings, the very masons themselves on the gravestones, made use of the fish in this symbolical sense,

without a word of explanation" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 73).

The following inscription from one of the monuments is given by Garrucci: "Oh divine offspring of the heavenly Ichthus (fish) preserve the innocence you received when regenerated in the immortal fountain of sacred waters which has been opened to man, and refresh your soul with the perennial streams of enriching wisdom" (Garrucci, Melanges d' Epigraphie ancienne, p. 47. *Dublin Review,* December, 1858, vol. 45, p. 297). The plain statement is that these persons were immersed in baptism.

Dr. Schaff remarks: "In some pictures the mysterious fish is swimming in the water" (*The Century Magazine,* January, 1888, p. 340). And "the fountain or pool wherein the candidates were immersed" was called after the name of the fish (Schaff, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 41).

The architects, W. & G. Audsley say: "As early as the days of the Church in the Catacombs we find the holy Sacrament of Baptism symbolically represented. The most frequent symbol is the fish: It frequently appears upon the tombs of the departed Christians, indicating that they who are

buried were baptized into the Church of Christ by water, the only element in which fish can live" (W. & G. Audsley, Christian Symbolism, p. 91).

It is plain nothing save immersion could fulfill the conditions of this picture. The only picture in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus that by any kind of interprètation could be explained to mean affusion is shown to be an illustration of immersion.

VII.

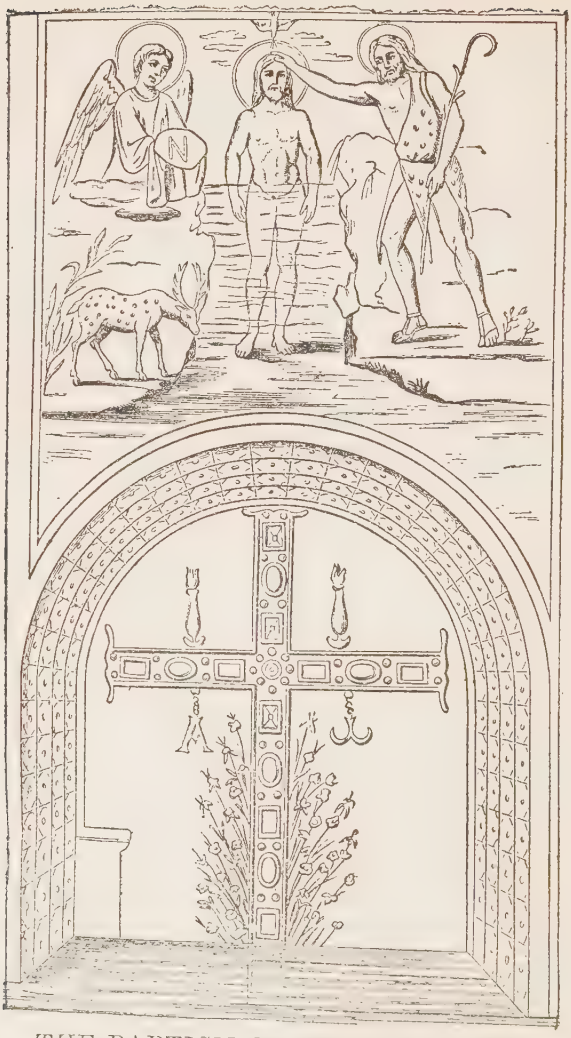
THE CATACOMB AND BAPTISTERY OF SAINT PONTIANUS.

In the Catacomb of St. Pontianus, outside of the city of Rome, on the right side of the via Ostiensis, in the Chapel called "Capella del Baptisterio," is a remarkable picture of the baptism of Jesus. It is roughly painted in the old technical style. Bottari gives the following explanation of the picture: "Upon the wall, over the arch, the Redeemer is represented up to the waist in the waters of the river Jordan, and upon his head rests the right hand of John the Baptist, standing on the shore. It is by mistake that modern artists represent Christ in the Jordan up to his knees and pouring water on his head. . . . . On the other shore an angel is seen upon a cloud, holding the Saviour's robe; the Holy Ghost descends like a dove and alights upon the Redeemer. John places his hand upon the head of Christ to immerse him. A hart is also seen standing on the shore and looking fixedly at the water; symbol of the catechumen ardently desir-

ing the waters of baptism, accordingly Jerome says in his commentary on the forty-second Psalm: 'He wished to come to Christ in whom is the source of light, that, being washed by baptism, he may receive the gift of the remission of sins'" (Bottari Sculpture e pitture sacri estratte dai cimere di Roma, Rome 1737-1754, vol. 1, p. 194).

The picture itself is taken from Aringhi (Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 527); and it is a fair example of the fresco.

The earliest date that can be assigned to the picture is the eighth or ninth century. Even Northcote, a Roman Catholic, says it is of the seventh or eighth century (Northcote, The Roman Catacombs, p. 153). Bennett, Methodist, says it is of the eighth or ninth century (Bennett, Christian Archæology, p. 406). Appell places it at the "second half of the ninth century" (Appell, Early Christian Art, London, 1872, p. 61). Crowe and Cavalcasselle say the "seventh or eighth century" (Crowe and Cavalcasselle, History of Painting in Italy, London, 1864, vol. 1, p. 43). Parker says: "Among the most celebrated of the paintings in the Catacombs are those in S. Pontianus, on the via Portuensis; these are frescoes on the plaster upon



THE BAPTISM OF JESUS AND THE JEWELED CROSS.

the brick walls of the eighth century, these walls being part of the repairs of Pope Paschal. These paintings include the celebrated paintings of Christ, and the two fine heads of Christ, with the cross in the nimbus" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 10). The original date is, therefore, well determined as not before the ninth century.

Like all of the other Catacomb pictures this one has been repainted and consequently we cannot judge of the original picture. The Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt says: "As this Catacomb is on all hands acknowledged to have been restored by Nicholas I., we may take it as an instance where restoration has been performed with care, and by the best hands obtainable between 858 and 867. There is no reason to doubt that where (as in the baptistery) the old subjects were fairly traceable, they were faithfully followed by the re-painter. The modern drawings from them are useful and pleasing, but are NOT VALUABLE as correct records of the actual appearance of the work. They put in minor beauties, add either softness or character to the faces they represent. * * * By carefully inspecting the fresco of the baptism,

it will be seen that the rather harsh outlines of the upper part of the Baptist's right arm and shoulder are drawn over a far more careful and correct figure. The biceps, deltoid and pectoral muscles are quite clearly and properly marked in the drawing beneath, which the outline neglects. This of course proves alike the fact of restoration, and that the original subject is here repeated. The stiffness of the restoration, white eyes, and heavy incorrect outline, point to a late date, perhaps that of Nicholas I., 858-867" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, p. 122).

So late as 1220 the picture was again restored. Parker says: "Honorius III., A. D. 1220, translated a number of bodies from the Catacomb of Pontianus, called at this time ad Ursum Pileatum. It is probable that he restored the paintings in some of the vaults from which he had taken them, as such appears to have been the custom. Some of the paintings published in Perret's work appear to have been of the sixteenth century" (Ibid, vol. 12, p. 31).

So far have these restorations been carried, that this picture is of but little value. Edmund Venables says on this point: "In some cases where it

(the nimbus) does appear, it is certainly due to the modern restorations by which the value of the evidence of the Catacomb pictures has been so seriously damaged. . . . It appears abundantly in the frescoes assigned to the second half of the ninth century which decorates the baptistery in the Catacomb of S. Pontianus" (Smith and Cheetham, Dictionary Christian Antiquities, vol. 2, p. 1399).

In fact the picture is a curious mixture of

HEATHENISM AND CATHOLICISM.

The nimbus is a heathen sign of dignity. "The nimbus," says Count de Saint Laurent, "is a pictorial sign, generally of circular form, which surrounds the head, and represents light. By some ancient writers it has been confounded with the crown, and called by the same name; but it differs from the crown in this, that it does not rest upon the head, but it is supposed to be suspended over it. The nimbus and the crown have this in common, that they both express the idea of dignity; and examples are not wanting in which one of these emblems has been used to express that particular kind of dignity which, according to later usage, belongs more appropri-

ately to the other. It is now the established practice to use the crown as a sign of royalty, and the nimbus of sanctity. And if saints are sometimes represented as crowned, that is because they are represented in Holy Scriptures as reigning in heaven.

"The nimbus was in use before the Christian era, and has continued among Pagan people since that time. We need not enter into any discussion, as to its origin; it is sufficient to say that it is intimately connected with the double signification which has always been attached to light and to the human head. The personification, therefore, of the sun has special claims to the use of this ornament. It does not appear, however, that the primary idea in attaching the nimbus to individuals was to represent them as invested with the sun itself. Rather the word would seem intended to indicate a luminous cloud, which only reflected the sun's rays."

Here is heathenism! Now look at the evidences of Catholicism in the picture. Many things about the picture represent Catholicism. There is the head of the Savior with long hair, a jeweled nimbus enclosing a jeweled cross, and below him a

jeweled cross rising up out of the water; and again the Saviour with a nimbus from the clouds giving crowns to the mystical persons, St. Abdon and St. Sennen, both with a nimbus, and there is a priest with tonsured head besides a jeweled cross rising out of the tomb. All of this paraphernalia does not suggest antiquity, or add to the authority of the picture. Yet Pedobaptists are willing to adopt it all, heathenism and Catholicism alike, if by that means a case of sprinkling may be suggested.

It is a happy fact that those who practice immersion are under no necessity to depend on a semi-heathen picture to prove their practice. Even here the foremost scholars admit with Bottari, quoted above, that this picture

CLEARLY TEACHES IMMERSION.

Dr. Schaff says: "Christ stands undressed in the Jordan with water up to the waist, and John the Baptist from a projecting rock places his hand upon the head of Christ to immerse him, while the dove descends directly from the open heaven" (Schaff, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 38).

Appell says: "Christ stands in the river Jordan

with the water nearly up to his waist, the lower part of the figure seen through the water" (Appell, Early Christian Art, p. 61).

D'Argincourt says it represents "John baptizing Christ in the river of Jordan."

While there have been great differences of opinion as to the time the picture was painted and the subsequent restorations, there is no doubt of the antiquity of the baptistery of which the picture is a decoration. Alexander Nesbitt, F. S. A., says of it: "Although the date of the paintings which decorate it cannot be fixed with any certainty, it is perhaps one of the earliest examples of a chamber set apart for the performance of this rite" (Smith and Cheetham, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 174).

When the earlier Christians were enduring the fiercest persecutions, they hid themselves in these secret caverns, held their worship and here among the dead was the place where they baptized their converts. A stronger argument for the practice of immersion could scarcely be found. Sprinkling as a form of baptism appears to have never entered the minds of these early Christians.

THE BAPTISTERY OF SAINT PONTIANUS.

Northcote describes the Baptistery in these words: "If we cross the river, we come to the Catacomb of San Ponzianzo, situated on the side of a hill between the Porta Potese and the Porta San Pancrazio, which contains the only specimen still extant of a subterranean baptistery. A small stream of water runs through the cemetery, and at this one place the channel has been deepened so as to form a kind of reservoir, in which a certain quantity of water is retained. We descend into it by a flight of steps, and the depth of the water varies with the heighth of the Tiber. When the river is swollen so as to block up the exit by which the stream usually empties itself, the waters are sometimes so damned back as to inundate the adjacent galleries of the Catacombs; at other times there are not over three or four feet of water" (Northcote, The Roman Catacombs, p. 137).

It is agreed by competent authorities that the baptistery was not only intended for immersion but that it was so used. Gailhaubaud says: "At the origin of the new religion baptism was to be administered by immersion. We desire especially

to note a locality marked by the Cemetery of St. Pontianus. There one sees a kind of large basin, filled with water, and hollowed out of the soil at a depth quite convenient to receive a number of neophytes. But when the church in the most of Europe ceased to recognize the in-opportuneness of immersion and replaced it by pouring—ever since that time it has established in places of the reservoir made below the soil and filled with water for immersing the neophytes, the font of stone. This marks in the history of religion and of the liturgy a very notable change in the administration of baptism" (Gailhaubaud, Arch., iv. pp. 112, 121).

Edmund Venables says: "In close connection with the wells of the Catacombs stands the so-called baptisteries. The most remakable of these is that in the Catacomb of St. Pontianus, the purpose of which is put beyond doubt by its pictorial decoration" (Smith and Cheetham, vol. 1, p. 312).

Dr. Cote, who lived many years in Rome and closely studied the baptismal question, says: "During the dark days of imperial persecutions the primitive Christians of Rome found a ready

refuge in the Catacombs, where they constructed baptisteries for the administration of the rite by immersion. The most remakable of these is the baptistery in the Catacombs of San Ponziano, on the right side of the via Portuensis, and at a short distance beyond the modern Portese. Through the Cemetery a stream of water runs, the channel of which is diverted into a reservoir, which was used for the administering baptism by immersion from the first of the fourth century" (Cote, The Archæology of Baptism).

D'Argincourt says: "There is no doubt that the chapel was especially used by the early Christians for administering the rite of baptism, as it still contains a spring. . . . . It is considered the simplest and most ancient baptistery extant."

Perret says: "This baptistery has a basin in it of sufficient depth that one could perform in it the baptism by immersion according to the usages of the primitive church. A stream of water which exists even to this day serves to feed it" (Perret, Catecombes de Rome, vol. 6, p. 89). One who desires to look further may find references to this baptistery in Schaff (The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 41).

It was in this place that the preacher Eusebe baptized a young paralytic named by himself Pontien, a name which he possibly took at his baptism and the neophyte found the healing of his body in the baptismal waters (Ap. Baron. Ad au 259). Adria and Paulina, converted by this, here also received baptism at the hands of Etienne (Martigny, Dictionaire Antiquities Chrettiennes, Art. Baptistery).

OTHER BAPTISTERIES.

The Cemetery known as the Ostrianum, not far from the Church of St. Agnes, on the via Nomentana, is the traditional place where Peter is said to have baptized. The spot is known as "ad Nymphas S. Petri," or "fons S. Petri" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 1, p. 174). Maitland speaking of this baptistery of Peter says that "however apocryphal the tradition which refers it to apostolic times, the fact of its having been long used for baptism is not to be disputed" (Maitland, Church of the Catacombs, pp. 29, 221). This baptistery was fed by natural springs (Luebke, Ecclesiastical Art in Germany, p. 190). "These springs of water," remarks Parker, "can still (1869) be seen in the vineyard of Monsignor

Nomentana, where this Catacomb is situated" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 55, note). Parker further says: "It appears to have been a baptistery for baptism by immersion, for which purpose the central space has been made a lower level, with steps down into it from the aisle round it" (Ibid, p. 5). This baptistery is also called after S. Hippolytus (Ibid, p. 55, note). It is claimed that four thousand and twelve persons were immersed in this baptistery during the times of persecution (Martigny, Art. Baptistery).

St. Peter's Church is built over the Cemetery of the Vatican. This Cemetery contains a bold running stream which was used for a baptistery (Boldetti, Observaszioni sopra i cimiteri de santi martiri antichi Christiana di Roma, Roma, 1720, lib. i. cap. 11. *Dublin Review,* vol. 45, p. 301). The fountain was afterwards put to a very different use. "In the fourth century," says Parker, "Pope Damasus ascertained that the bodies interred in the Cemetery or Catacomb of the Vatican were lying in water; he sought for the spring which caused this, and on cutting away the rock he discovered it. He made a fountain of it, with a proper drain, and the fountain which

plays in the court of the Pontifical palace on the Vatican Hill is supplied by that Spring. Damasus placed in the cemetery an inscription recording what he had done" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, p. 56). There is a baptistery in St. Peter's Church in which Benedictus XIII., who was Pope in 1724, "restored the ancient rite of baptism by immersion, and constructed" a large basin in which adults could be immersed (Cook, Story of the Baptists, p. 294).

The Baptistery of St. Calixtus, already incidentally mentioned, is well-known. Parker says of it: "The Catacomb in which he had preached, and baptized so many persons, must have been that on the via Ardeatina, where the well and the font may still be seen in the sand-pit by the side of the entrance to the Catacombs" (Parker, The Archæology of Rome, vol. 12, 89). And he immediately adds that the Baptistery was for immersion. This is now known as the Church of S. Stephen.

The Catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilleus probably contained a baptistery (Ibid, p. 70).

There were baptisteries in the Catacombs of Alexander and in the Ostian Cemetery. These

Catacombs were sometimes so "constructed as to retain the waters which were distilled from above, as we may yet recognize in the Cemeteries of SS. Prætextatus and Helena" (Boldetti, lib. 1, cap. 11, *Dublin Review,* vol. 45, p. 302). The Baptistery of St. Priscilla received water by the way of a canal (Cote, Archæology of Baptism). The Cemetery of St. Alexandro had a flowing spring (Luebke, Ecclesiastical Art in Germany, p. 190).

Wilpert, a learned Roman Catholic, who has succeeded De Rossi, working under the authority of the Pope, recently discovered in a room which he claims as a chapel an interesting group of pictures. He says these pictures are of the first half of the second century. The pictures are the decorations of the chapel. But what interests us most of all is that there is a baptistery in the chapel (Wilpert, Fractio Panis, Freiburg, 1895. See *Presbyterian and Reform Review,* p. 568).

An inscription, now found in the Lapidarian Gallery, in Rome, originally placed near one of the fonts in the Catacombs points out the practice of immersion. The inscription is: *Corporis et cordis macvlas vitali pvrgat et omne simlv. ablvitvnd* (Kip, The Catacombs of Rome, pp. 161,

162), which may be translated: "The vivifying stream cleanses alike the stains of the body and of the heart, and at the same time washes away all sin" (*The Dublin Review,* vol. 45, p. 301).

The evidences of immersion in the Catacombs are most numerous and convincing. This great number of baptisteries discovered in recent times bear silent witness to the ancient rite of immersion.

VIII.

The Catacomb Pictures Clearly Represent Immersion.

From the five pictures examined from the Catacombs some conclusions favorable to the practice of immersion may be drawn.

1. These paintings were of Greek origin and the Greeks were in the practice of immersion. Stanley says of the early Roman Christians: "The Catacombs are the standing monuments of the Oriental and Jewish character even of the Western Christianity. The fact that they are the counterparts of the rock-hewn tombs of Palestine, and yet more closely of the Jewish cemeteries in the neighborhood of Rome, corresponds to the fact that the early Roman Church was not Latin but an Eastern community, speaking Greek, and following the usuages of Syria" (Stanley, Christian Institutions, p. 226). The inscriptions are almost universally in Greek. This corresponds with the remark of Dean Milman that "for a considerable part of the first three centuries, the Church of Rome was a Greek religious colony."

It being granted that the pictures are of Greek origin, and that is not denied, it is at once established that they represent immersion; for this is the only act of baptism that the Greeks have ever admitted for baptism. An abundance of evidence to substantiate this point might be given, but a few competent witnesses is all that is needed.

Dean Stanley who has been often quoted, says: "There can be no question that the original form of baptism—the very meaning of the word—was complete immersion in the deep baptismal waters, that at least for four centuries any other form was either unknown or regarded, unless in the case of dangerous illness, as an exceptional, almost monstrous case. To this form the Eastern Church still adheres rigidly, and the most illustrious and venerable portion of it, that of the Byzantine Empire, absolutely repudiates any other mode of administration as essentially valid" (Stanley, Hist. En. Ch. p. 117).

Rev. A. N. Arnold, D. D., says: "The writer has repeatedly seen baptism administered according to the Greek ritual, and in every case it was tripple immersion. If, as may sometimes happen, any little portion of the body is not submerged

when the child is placed naked in the font, the priest, by a movement of his hand, sends a wave over it. The only instance of adult baptism that came under his knowledge was that of a converted Jew, and in his case, the ordinary fonts being, of course, too small for the purpose, a tub or tank was constructed for the occasion and placed in the church. In the course of more than eleven years' service and residence among the Greeks he never heard the slightest intimation of any diversity of views or laxity of practice among them on the subject of baptism, except in reference to recognizing the baptism of Catholics or Protestants" (*Baptist Quarterly Review,* vol. 4, p. 83, A. D. 1870).

Alexander de Stourdza was a Russian State Counselor and a member of the Greek Church. He is a thoroughly competent witness. He says: "The Church of the West, has, then, departed from the example of Jesus Christ; and has obliterated the whole sublimity of the exterior sign; in short, she commits an awful abuse of words and of ideas in practicing baptism by aspersion, the very term being, in itself, a derisive contradiction. The verb baptize, *immergo,* has, in fact, but one sole

acceptation. It signifies, literally and always, to plunge. Baptism and immersion are, therefore, identical and to say baptism by aspersion is as if one should say, immersion by aspersion, or any other absurdity of the same nature" (Stourdza, Con. sur La Doc. et L'Esprit, p. 87).

2. The pictures all represent river baptisms. There is absolutely no early authority for a candidate to stand waist deep in water and pour water on him. That is an absurdity born of desperation. And if such was the teaching of the pictures it would be no authority for pouring water on a man standing on dry ground. Dr. Schaff says: "Pouring on the head while the candidate stands on dry ground, receives no aid from the Catacombs, but may have been applied in clinic baptism" (Schaff, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 41).

The advocates of sprinkling argue that since the whole of the immersion is not represented in the pictures at one time that therefore the pictures cannot teach that act. But they forget that a picture can represent only one stage of the act and must leave the rest for the imagination to fill out. Hence *The Independent* says: "We must remem-

ber at the outset that THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF IMMERSION CANNOT BE PICTORIALLY REPRESENTED; else the person baptized would entirely disappear. The pictures therefore, give us only a partial view, either the beginning or the end of the act; but they give it in such a way that immersion, either total or partial, was intended. For in all of these pictures the candidate of baptism stands ankle deep or waist deep IN WATER, and is UNDRESSED. The feet, therefore, are actually immersed, and this, of course, cannot be a useless luxury and inconvenience, but must be a part of the sacramental act. The nudity implies that the rest of the body was to be immersed also, else it would be unnecessary and unjustifiable indecency."

All of these pictures represent a river baptism since Jesus was baptized in a river, and a river was the place where baptisms usually took place. As Wharton B. Marriott says: "In the earlier ages a river or a pool may have served as a place of baptism, and indeed the spot in the Jordan where our Saviour was baptized by St. John is said to have been lined with marble and resorted to by crowds on the eve of Epiphany" (Smith and

Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 1, p. 174).

Tertullian alludes to this custom. He says: "And accordingly it makes no difference whether a man be washed in the sea or a pool, a stream or a fount, a lake or a trough; nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless that the eunuch whom Philip baptized in the midst of the journeys in chance water, derived more or less salvation than others" (Tertullian, De Baptismo, ch. 4).

Walafrid Strabo says: "Originally, believers were baptized with great simplicity in streams and fountains" (Strabo, De Ritibus Eccles., ch. 26).

Honorius Augustus says: "Originally the apostles and the disciples baptized in streams, pools and fountains" (Augustus, Gemma Animæ, lib. iii. c. 108).

Schaff is clear in his statement where he says: "The preference of the Ante-Nicene Church was for baptism in a running stream, as the Jordan, the Nile, the Tiber; the baptized standing, undressed, knee deep or waist deep in the water, while the baptizer on the shore, slightly clothed, dipped the candidate's head under the water and

helped him out of the river. See illustrations from the Catacombs. The preference for river baptism was based on the typical baptism of Christ in the Jordan, and continued till the age of Constantine, when special baptisteries were built with different departments and other conveniences, for both sexes and all seasons of the year" (Schaff, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 185. Also *The Century Magazine,* January, 1888, p. 341).

The baptisteries were originally constructed as far as possible to represent rivers and lakes, and the pictures were intended to further this idea. The learned Paciaudius says: "Indeed it may be easily understood from these from which I have exposed, why such an abundance of water was gathered into the baptistery, that it might seem to imitate rivers and lakes; for this reason the perennial reception of the waters led thither by its own conduits was called Piscinus, the Natatorium . . . for when a man was to be immersed, as though he plunged himself into the Jordan, it was necessary to overflow the water. Hence is also evident the cause, why the celebrants, and the pious bishops, chose for the baptisteries places with fountains, and easiest to be irrigated with

streams" (Robinson, History of Baptism, p. 81 note).

These writers do not leave us in doubt that the river baptisms were immersions.

3. The best authorities say that the pictures represent immersion.

The Independent says: "The only room for controversy, then, as far as these pictures are concerned, is whether immersion was total (submersion) or partial. From the symbolical meaning of the act—a complete cleansing from impurity—we have a right to infer that the immersion was as complete as the depth of the accessible stream or fountain would permit. Thus interpreted, the pictorial representations are in entire harmony with the patristic descriptions and present practice in all the Oriental churches. Let us honestly admit the facts of history on both sides, and then adjust our controversies in a truly Christian spirit, which is the spirit of liberty."

Victor Schultze says: "The representations of baptism in the period before Constantine, amounting to three in number, all show subjects past the age of childhood—in two cases, boys of perhaps twelve years, in the third a young man. The

act is performed by immersion (Schultze, Die Katakomben, s. 136).

Lundy, Episcopalian says: "Another important matter as to baptism is the primitive mode of administration. The concurrent testimony of early documents and monuments favors nude trine-immersion" (Lundy, Monumental Christianity, p. 383). And again: "In these baptismal frescoes, the matter is obviously represented as that of a bath. The catechumens plunged themselves into the sacred streams or flood and swam about. It was a real washing—a thorough cleansing. The Orthodox Greek Church, inheriting this ancient custom plunges the naked infant three times into the font, at each plunge pronouncing the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The sacred annual bathing of Palestine pilgrims in the river Jordan, is the same now as it was in John the Baptist's time, and precisely the same as it is and always has been in the sacred rivers of Hindostan. It is a custom far older than Christianity, and universally prevalent. John the Baptist simply adopted and practiced the universal custom of sacred bathing for the remission

of sins. Christ sanctioned it; the Church inherited it from his example" (Lundy, Monumental Christianity, p. 385).

Dr. Schaff says: "The art of painting can only exhibit the beginning or the end of the act, not the entire process. But as far as they go these pictures confirm the river baptism prescribed by the Didache as the normal form, in imitation of the typical baptism in the Jordan. They all represent the baptized as standing in a stream, and the baptizer on dry ground; the former is nude, the latter is more or less clothed. These two facts prove that immersion (either total or partial) was intended; otherwise the standing with the feet in the water would be an unmeaning superfluity, and the nudity an unjustifiable indecency" (Schaff, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, pp. 36, 37). But Dr. Schaff admits more than this. He says: "The Didache, the Catacomb pictures, Greek and Latin, are in essential harmony on this point, and thus confirm one another. They all bear witness to trine-immersion as the rule, and affusion or pouring as an exception. THIS VIEW IS SUPPORTED BY THE BEST SCHOLARS, GREEK, LATIN AND PROTESTANT" (Ibid, p. 42).

C. E. Norton says: "Sometimes, indeed, the act of baptism is represented in a more literal manner, by a naked figure immersed in the water; sometimes perhaps, by still other types, as Noah and his ark" (*Atlantic Monthly,* June 1858, p. 55).

Texier and Pullan, in their very able work, say: "Baptism was confessedly by total immersion." "For a long time the baptized was immersed three times, in commemoration of the three days of the burial of Jesus Christ, and of the three persons of the Holy Trinity." It was not until "the ninth century," they declare, that "water was thrown upon the heads" of children after they had been "plunged into the basin" (Texier and Pullan, Byzantine Architecture, pp. 74, 75).

Maitland, Episcopalian, says: "The ceremonies used in baptism, at first simple, were in the course of time multiplied; the immersion was required to be threefold, or trine, as it was technically called; and the renunciation of the devil and his works was then repeated" (Maitland, Church of the Catacombs, p. 224).

Prof. Erich Franz, Professor of Christian Archæology, in Breslau University, says: "The rep-

resentations in the Catacombs give the original, from the Apostles derived, form of baptism, immersion, i. e., the in and under dipping of the candidate." On the paintings are shown the custom derived from the Apostles, immersion" (Letter to myself, June 10, 1900).

Prof. Gustav Adolf Juelicher, Professor of Church History, University of Marburg, says: "I will without hesitation affirm: Immersion must have been the form usual to those painters and those congregations; otherwise they could have easily substituted the usual form on the paintings. The Apostles must have practiced immersion as did John the Baptist. But even without the paintings on baptism I would hold without doubt, that the old church understood by baptism an immersion of an adult believer" (Letter to myself, June 6, 1900).

Prof. Ahnfelt, of Lund University, says: "I think that all of these representations show the pure immersion act of baptism. These pictures, in my opinion, not only show what was the custom at that time, but also what they had received from the time of the Apostles" (Letter to myself, July 3, 1900).

Prof. George Lampakis, Professor of Christian Archæology, University of Athens, Greece, says: "These pictures determine that the form of baptism practiced by the ancient church was immersion, also that Jesus was baptized in the river by John, and that the Apostles baptized where there were rivers and much water. While these pictures were decorations they indicate that the action of the ancient church was immersion" (Letter to myself, July 7, 1900).

Rev. E. W. Watson, Salisbury, England, an able writer on Patristic Literature, says: "Baptism, till a comparatively late date, was certainly by immersion; and perhaps in the river Tiber as late as the third century, i. e., Rhoda bathing in the river in Hermas, vision 1. Although fonts (for immersion) were in use at the date of the earliest representations. The river in the pictures is good evidence for the earlier custom" (Letter to myself, June 15, 1900).

Prof. Bonet-Maurey, late Professor of Church History, in the University of Paris, says: "I think these pictures were intended to portray immersion" (Letter to myself, July 14, 1900).

Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Professor of Old

Church History in the Catholic University of America, Washington, says: "I think these pictures were intended to portray a complete immersion" (Letter to myself, July 23, 1900).

IX.

THE MOSAIC IN THE BAPTISTERY OF SAINT GIOVANNI IN FONTE.

Perhaps more has been said about the mosaic in the Church of St. Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna, Italy, than any other representation of baptism. It is broadly claimed that the mosaic dates back to A. D. 450, and is referred to as undoubted proof of the existence of affusion at that date. This claim is examined in detail.

It is possible that the mosaic was originally made about A. D. 450 (Agnellus, Liber Pontiff, vitæ Ursi et Neonis, p. 5); more probably A. D. 500, but since then it has undergone constant restorations and changes. Dr. Bennett, who was an ardent Methodist, was compelled to admit: "While they have probably suffered restoration in certain parts, there is no evidence that the original design has been departed from" (Bennett, Christian Archæology, p. 404). In this Dr. Bennett is mistaken, for "the original design" has been greatly changed and those parts of the mo-

saic which are vital to the argument for affusion, the shell and the pouring, are recent additions. But he admits restorations.

It is certain that the churches of Italy have been repeatedly pillaged since that date and their most sacred treasures destroyed or taken away and this church is no exception to the rule. Dr. Bennett frankly admits this. He says: "The imposing houses of worship were despoiled of their collections of sacred writings, of their costly decorations, and the numerous vessels of gold and silver which were used in the administration of the sacraments. What treasures of art, what invaluable manuscript copies of the Sacred Scriptures, what wealth of materials for the history of the early church, which had been accumulated through the previous forty years of peace, were forever lost must remain a matter of mere conjecture. It is only certain that scarcely a church escaped this visitation" (Bennett, Christian Archæology, p. 34).

Happily details can be given. At first thought a mosaic might appear to be the most substantial of all pictures, but a little reflection will convince one that it is the frailest of all pictures. Made as it is of bits of marble, or glass, put together

with cement it is peculiarly liable to destruction. Outside of climatic conditions, it may be shaken apart by the motions of the earth caused by the passing of a wagon, or the volcano or earthquake. All who know Southern Europe recognize that such motions are not infrequent.

Dampness is against the continued existence of mosaics. Ravenna is situated in the swamps by the sea and the cellars are usually full of water. The baptistery under consideration has been covered with water and thoroughly soaked. The tile roof of the building leaked. Crowe and Cavalcasselle say: "It is ludicrous to suppose that restoration is sufficient, if the original cause of damage remains. The roof of the baptistery at Ravenna is not water-proof, and the rain filters through the repairs recently made. A new roof is required" (Crowe and Cavalcasselle, History of Painting in Italy, vol. 1, p. 11).

The significance of this statement is all the greater when it is remembered that the mosaic of baptism is in the dome of the building next to the leaky roof. This state of affairs has caused repeated restorations, so that the probability is that very little of the original mosaic remains (Ibid, vol. 1, p. 11).

THE RESTORATIONS.

The most serious restorations have been undertaken in the monuments at Ravenna. Take for example the mosaics in the Church of S. Vitale. Crowe and Cavalcasselle give an almost ludicrous description of these restorations. They say: "It may therefore be necessary to describe in detail the changes that repairs have produced in mosaics which, according to one of the most recent art-histories, 'are old and genuine.' Taking first the mosaics of the apsis. The white tunic of the figure of Moses is repainted. Half the face from the nose downwards and both hands of Elias are restored. The head of S. Apollinaris is in part damaged, the left hand and lower part of the figure destroyed. The sheep on the sides of S. Apollinaris, but particularly those on the right of that figure, are almost completely modern. A large part of the left side of the apsis is repainted. Of the four bishops between the windows of the tribune where the head of Ecclesius is preserved, the lower part is repainted. The head of S. Ursinus is a new mosaic and the lower part of the figure is restored. In the mosaic of the sacrifice half the head from the eyes upwards and part of the arms

THE MOSAIC IN THE BAPTISTERY OF SAINT GIOVANNI IN FONTE.

of Abel are repainted. THE LEGS HAVE BECOME DROPSICAL UNDER REPAIR. The figures of Abraham and Isaac are almost completely repainted and the HANDS AND FEET ARE FORMLESS for that reason. This mosaic is repainted in two different ways with white cubes colored over and with painted stucco" (Crowe and Cavalcasselle, vol. 1, p. 38). Thus it is seen that

even the material used in the restoration of the pictures of Ravenna was not like the original. Ordinary paint was daubed on the mosaics and the most flagrant deceptions used.

What was done in the other churches was likewise done to the Baptistery. Not even competent workmen were employed to make repairs on the Baptistery. Crowe and Cavalcasselle say: "It might be well advised, when restorations are undertaken, to entrust them to skillful hands, and not to mere mechanical mosaists, ignorant of form and design, however able they may be in the technical difficulties of the art. Before touching monuments such as these, Italy should possess a school devoted to the study of the character and style of art in various periods. A competent person should be employed to study the mode in which emblems and accessories were used in different epochs. For there is no doubt that the period in which a monument was erected or adorned may be detected by the peculiar character of its emblems and accessories; and the use of false ones by restorers produced ENDLESS DECEPTIONS" (Crowe and Cavalcasselle, vol. 1, p. 22). One of these deceptions is the pouring from a shell which is the work of a restorer.

Some of the restorations in this mosaic may be pointed out. As late as 1825-6, radical changes were made in it. Strzygowski declares: "But these mosaics are no longer preserved in their earlier originality, for restorations were certainly undertaken during the Middle Ages. Hitherto these have been but little considered and have given rise to some error" (Strzygowski, Iconographie der Taufe, s. 9, 10).

Venables points out that the upper zone "containing the twelve apostles, together with the central picture of the baptism, show indications of the restoration of a later and inferior period of art, though still preserving much of antique dignity and grace" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 2, p. 1329). The jeweled cross is an important part of the mosaic. Crowe and Cavalcasselle state that it is the work of a restorer and "a strange addition to the mosaic of the baptism" (Crowe and Cavalcasselle, History of Painting in Italy, vol. 1, p. 22). From Richter we learn that "the bodies of both of the chief actors have been somewhat changed by restorations" (Richter, Mosaican von Ravenna, Wein 1878, p. 12). Crowe and Cavalcasselle add: "As usual the mosaics of the

Baptistery have been restored. In the central 'baptism' the head and shoulders and the right arm of the figure of the Saviour, the head, shoulders and right arm, the right leg and foot of the Baptist and the cross in his right hand have been repaired, and thus the type and character of the heads may have been altered" (Crowe and Cavalcasselle, History of Painting in Italy, vol. 1, p. 22 note). And Strzygowski says that we are indebted to the restorer for THE CUP which John holds in his right hand, from which the water flows (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 14).

Thus it is noticed that the mosaic has been changed in every important detail; and the parts such as the shell and the pouring, referred to by the advocates of affusion are all the additions of recent times.

In an able address before the Chicago Baptist Ministers' Association, Dr. Franklin Johnson, of the University of Chicago, called attention to the changes which had taken place in the Ravenna mosaic between the years 1694 and 1873, or a period of 179 years. Ciampini wrote a book (Vetera Monumenta in Quibus, 2 vols. Romæ, 1694) in which he inserted a picture of this mosaic of bap-

tism and Garrucci, a celebrated Catholic, wrote a book (Storia del la Arte Christiana, 1873) in which he also gives a picture of the same mosaic. A comparison of the pictures of the two authors presents the following striking differences:

CIAMPINI, 1694.

1. John has no nimbus.
2. Dove and cross separated.
3. Wing of dove much below arm of cross.
4. No lettering in stream of water.
5. Garment held out by Jordan touches left arm of cross.
6. Cross not held by John; rests against his knee; no part covered.
7. End of cross rests on water.
8. Stem of cross one piece. Latin cross.
9. Right foot of Christ planted forward firmly.
10. Pattern running around picture, a series of loops, curves of loops inward.

GARRUCCI, 1873.

1. John has a nimbus.
2. Wing of dove projects beyond cross, striking it.
3. Covers arm of cross.

4. Letters IXIN in water.

5. The two separated by space.

6. Fold of robes goes round a part, encircling his left hand which holds it.

7. Rests on rock.

8. Two pieces; both Latin and Greek cross in one.

9. The two near together; not firm,

10. Curves outward.

The mosaic has been changed in every essential particular. The original mosaic was doubtless like all of the mouments of the period a representation of immersion and as has been shown, the accessories of pouring have been added by later hands. This probably occurred through ignorant artists, the original being destroyed, or defaced, adding the pouring from the shell. In any event it is certain the changes were made.

THE PAGAN ELEMENT.

If the mosaic of Ravenna is authority for the practice of pouring for baptism it is equally as authoritative to prove that Catholicism and Paganism are right. The entire drapery of the mosaic is a curious mixture of Catholicism and Paganism. The jeweled cross, the nimbus, the long

hair are of Catholic origin and the god of the Jordan is of Pagan origin.

The heathen element in all of this class of pictures is quite as prominent as the Christian. The presence of the heathen god of the Jordan is freely admitted. Prof. S. Cheetham says: "The representations of Jordan in early Christian art, especially those sculptured on sarcophagi are generally copied with more or less exactness, from the river gods of Pagan antiquity. Thus we find him personified as an old man with crown, and scepter, and reeds, sometimes leaning upon an urn from which flows a stream of water. He is thus represented in the mosaic in the baptistery of St. John in Fonte at Ravenna, with the name of Jordan written over his head" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 1, p. 890).

Dr. Bennett, the Methodist writer quoted above, says: "The Jordan, Jord, symbolized by a river god bearing a reed, introduced into the scene a heathen element" (Bennett, Christian Archæology, p. 404). And Edmund Venables says: "An incongruous relic of paganism appears in the form of the river god Jordan, rising from his stream and offering a napkin as an act of homage" (Smith and

Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 2, p. 1329).

THE NIMBUS.

Another evidence of the corruption and late date of the present mosaic is found in the fact that both Jesus and John are nimmed, or have a light upon their heads. So ignorant were these mosaists, that the light was not only given to John and Jesus, but to Judas Iscariot and the DEVIL. Northcote and Brownlow, Roman Catholics, say: "In some of the mosaics of the fifth century at Ravenna, it is placed not only on the head of our Lord, his holy mother and the angels, but also on those of Justinian, and his wife Theodora, and at St. Mary Major's in Rome, A. D. 433, on even that of Herod. In MSS. of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and in some of the painted windows of the Middle Ages, it is given to the sun and moon, to Pharaoh, Saul, Balaam, Constantine II., and all the bishops of the second council of Nice, to Judas, the foolish virgins (as well as the wise), the devil, and the beast of the Apocalyse" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 190).

This is a Roman Catholic admission and is decidedly rich. The pictures used to prove pour-

ing for baptism would also prove a deified Judas and a glorified devil. The nimbus is a certain sign that the mosaic is of late origin. None of the works of early Christians have a nimbus (Northcote, Roman Catacombs, p. 72). It belongs to the Dark Ages and the lowest corruptions of art. Hence Venables says of the Ravenna mosaics: "They are both cases of modern additions. This unauthorized tampering with early monuments is severely condemned by Perret (tom vi., p. 32). Turning to the mosaics we find the nimbus equally rare in all earlier examples. Where it does appear in works before the sixth century it may usually be considered an unauthorized addition (On a tant retouche les mosaiques, Didron, p. 33, note 2)" (Smith and Cheetham, vol. 2, p. 1400).

This strange mixture of Catholicism and Paganism in the corruption of art is about as good evidence as has ever been offered for affusion as the Scriptural form of baptism. One is painfully reminded of the weakness of a position that must appeal to such evidence in its support.

THE OIL OF CONFIRMATION.

It has already been mentioned that the shell in the hands of John the Baptist from which he

pours some liquid is a late addition to the mosaic. It is therefore no part of the original. Many writers, however, hold that the shell which John holds in his hand has no reference to baptism, but to confirmation, or the pouring of the holy oil, which immediately followed the baptism. They argue that there is nothing in the Bible, or in all antiquity, that teaches that water is poured on a man to complete his immersion. In most pictures the fluid comes from the mouth of the dove. No one claims that the dove ever furnished water for the baptism. The dove undoubtedly represents the Holy Spirit; and the representation in the picture is the Holy Spirit annointing Jesus with oil. Venables says of these doves: "As an emblem of the third person of the trinity, the carved or painted figure of the dove appeared from a very early period in all baptisteries. . . . So also in both baptisteries in Ravenna. . . . A golden or silver dove was often suspended above the font in early times. These sometimes contained the annointing oil used in baptism and extreme unction" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Chrit. Antiq., vol 2, p. 398).

There is no doubt that at the time the mosaic of the Ravenna Baptistery was made that in all Catholic baptisms the annointing oil was poured upon all candidates immediately following the immersion. Lundy's comment is "that John applied the unction with a small shell" (Lundy, Monumental Christianity, p. 398). *The Dublin Review* claims: "If any other evidence were required it would be found in the fact that the Catacombs, as, for instance, in those of St. Alexander, immediately adjoining the baptistery, we meet with the 'Consignatorium ablutorium,' as it is styled, or place of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation" (*The Dublin Review,* December, 1854, vol. 45, p. 305).

The old Latin Father Tertullian describes the thing here represented. He says: "After this, when we have issued from the font, we are thoroughly annointed with the blessed unction (a practice derived) from the old discipline, wherein on entering the priesthood, men were wont to be annointed with oil, from a horn, ever since Aaron was annointed by Moses. When Aaron is called 'Christ,' from the 'chrism,' which is the 'unction,' which when made spiritual, furnishes an appropri-

ate name for the Lord, because he was 'annointed' with the Spirit of God the Father; as written in Acts iv. 27. Thus, too, in our case, the unction runs carnally (i. e., on the body), but profits spiritually; in the same way that the act of baptism itself is too carnal, in that we are plunged in water, but the effect spiritual, in that we are free from sins" (Tertullian, De Bapt. c. viii. Migne, Patrologiæ Latina, vol. 150, p. 315).

Let us look a little more closely at the picture. There is a dove hovering over the head of the Lord with its beak reaching down nearly to the vessel which John holds in his hand. The dove is the symbol of the Holy Spirit. Is there any connection between the dove and that something in the vessel that flows upon the head? A passage from Raban Maur's book, De Clericorum Institutione, may help us to answer the question. He says: "After the baptized person has come up from the font, he is immediately signed on the forehead with the sacred chrism by the priest, who at the same time prays that he may be made a partaker of the kingdom of Christ and be called a Christian, from Christ" (the anointed). He quotes the account of the descent of the Spirit on Christ, and

continues: "Truly, the annointing of the chrism is well joined to baptism, since the Holy Spirit, who, by the impartation of his own virtue through the chrism, sanctifies believers, descended on Jesus in the form of a dove immediately after his baptism, which thing was typified by that dove which at the time of the flood bore back to the ark an olive branch with green leaves, signifying that the Holy Spirit, through the annointing of baptism, gives to the faithful the strength of celestial grace" (Patrologiæ Latina, vol. 107, col. 313). In Raban's mind the giving of the Holy Spirit was necessary to the believer's union with Christ, and the baptism was necessary to the giving of the Spirit. He quotes the passage: "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his," and then adds: "It is clear that no one who is not Christ's can be made a partaker of his kingdom. It is, therefore, necessary to give immediate help to the baptized person with the annointing of the chrism, that, partaking of the Holy Spirit, he may not be an alien from Christ" (Pat. Lat., vol. 107, col. 314). The view of Raban in reference to the use of the chrism is substantially that

of his age (See Baptism in History, by Prof. J. C. Long, D. D., pp. 50-52).

There is an account of the practice of confirmation in Ravenna. Petrus Chrysologus, who was the Archbishop of Ravenna, while the Baptistery was being built and decorated, A. D. 433-452, says: "To-day the Holy Spirit hovers in the form of a dove over the waters. . . . But this dove does not, like the first, bear a mere twig of the old olive tree, but pours the whole fatness of the new unction upon the head of its author, that it may fulfill what the prophet foretold: 'Wherefore God, even thy God, hath annointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows'" (Sermon, CLX).

Such are the reasons presented that the shell refers to the rite of confirmation. Any one who desires to see a fuller statement of the fathers on this subject, together with an able discussion of this view, may consult Dr. Howard Osgood's article on the Archæology of Baptism (*The Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1898, pp. 20, 21). For the Roman Catholic view, sustaining the above contention, Northcote and Brownlow may be read to

advantage (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranae, vol. 3, pp. 130, 131).

It will be noted that the convex side of the shell is toward the beholder, since it was the universal teaching of the times that the chrism must be kept from the sight of the unbaptized. Thus Dyonisius says: "As its contemplation is above the reach of the many, they (our leaders) reverently conceal it; and by the hierarchal direction, it is kept from the gaze of the multitude."

Thus would many explain this feature of the mosaic as the rite of pouring the oil of confirmation. But our own opinion is that this shell is simply the addition of a late restorer.

IMMERSION THE FORM OF BAPTISM IN RAVENNA.

There is no necessity to speculate on the form of baptism in Ravenna. The Catholic magazine, *The Dublin Review,* interprets this baptism as "an immersion of the Saviour" (*The Dublin Review,* March, 1858, vol. 44, p. 157). The original act of baptism in Ravenna may be traced. The Gospel, it is claimed by the historians of that city, was first preached there by Apollaniris, whom they declare to have been one of the Lord's original converts. When converts were made he baptized

them in the sea (Jac. Basnage, Hist. Eccl., tom. i., lib. 1ii. cap. . Hicron, Ruboi, Hist. Raven, Spicleg. ut super).

Moreover the Office of Baptism formerly belonging to and practiced in this Church at Ravenna is now owned by the Library of Bologna. It prescribes: "Then taking him, he baptized him by trine immersion (*subtrina mersione*)." This settles the form of baptism at Ravenna.

The Baptistery at Ravenna was built and decorated by Greeks. Ravenna was for centuries the home of Greek emperors and exarchs. In every respect this mosaic is a Greek work. The faces of Jesus and John are Greek, not Roman. The long hair represents Greek life, since the Romans wore short hair. "Not only is Jesus represented in this mosaic as a long-haired Greek, but as a Greek of the delicate, luxurious class of the court of Byzantium, and this John is a minister of that class. And so the faces of the twelve Apostles surrounding the mosaic tell of Greek court life. They are neither Jew nor Roman. There is not a single line of vigor, determination or power in any of these faces." The force of this fact is evident

when we remember that the form of baptism among the Greeks was immersion.

The Ravenna mosaic is part of the decorations of a baptistery, and that beyond a doubt would indicate that the form of baptism was immersion. The picture would be in accord with the act performed in the baptistery which it was intended to decorate. Certainly this very costly building, with all of its preparations for immersion was not intended for affusion. Such a thought would be ridiculous.

It has been intimated that the mosaic has undergone changes, but the Baptistery itself dates back to the fifth century. Alexander Nesbitt says of it: "No one of the baptisteries of this period has come down to the present time in a more unaltered condition than that of the Cathedral of Ravenna, known like many other baptisteries in Italy, as Giovanni in Fonte" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 1, p. 176). He states that the building is an octagon and goes on to explain its significance. He says: "It has been seen that the earlier baptisteries were, if not circular, octagonal; it is uncertain whether these forms were adopted for reasons of convenience, or as symbolical. The

circular form was that almost invariably adopted for a sepulchral or memorial church, and the immersion, with which the rite of baptism in the earlier centuries was invariably performed, was considered as typical of dying to the world" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., vol. 1, pp. 177, 178).

Murray says of this baptistery: "The grand vase, which was formerly used for baptism by immersion, is composed of Greek marble and porphyry" (Murray, Hand Book of Rome, p. 82).

Here is a Baptistery built for the rite of immersion. The mosaic of baptism was a decoration of the Baptistery and represented Jesus baptized of John in Jordan. The mosaic must also represent immersion. The shell and other accessories of affusion are additions of a late date.

X.

THE MOSAIC IN THE BAPTISTERY OF SANTA MARIA IN COSMEDIN—THE CUP OF ALBA—THE TOMB OF JULIUS BASSUS.

There is a mosaic in the Baptistery of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Unlike the mosaic in the Baptistery of S. John the shell is wanting in the hand of the Baptist. In regard to this Baptistery Nesbitt says: "The Church now called S. Maria in Cosmedin, in Ravenna, was also once a Baptistery, having been built (it is believed) in the time of Theodoric for the use of the Arians; it is circular internally, octagonal externally, with a small round ended apse projecting from one of the sides and a loggia of the three arches from the other. It is covered by a dome, on which are mosaics representing the baptism of the Lord and the twelve Apostles. These are believed to be of later date than the original building" (Smith and Cheetham, Dictionary Christian Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 177).

The mosaic is of uncertain age. "The mosaics are believed," says Parker, "to have been made

(?) or altered (?) at that time"—A. D. 553. And it is certain that "it was rebuilt in the twelfth century" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, pp. 113, 114).

It is evident that the mosaic has been restored. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say: "The restorer has been very busy here, and the time in which the body of the work was executed may be judged only from the distribution and the forms" (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, vol. 1, p. 24). And Strzygowski also says: "In this mosaic are many restorations" (Strzygowski, Iconographie der Taufe, s. 11).

It is well to explain the significance of the hand placed upon the head of the person to be baptized as represented in this and other pictures. Tertullian explains this when he says: "After we have been plunged in water . . . the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction" (Tertullian, De Bapt., c. vii, viiii). The Apostolic Constitutions require: "The priest to lay his hand upon the candidate, dipping him three times." Bunsen speaks of a Coptic Canon, or Alexandrian Constitution, which says: "The baptizer shall lay his hand on the

head" of the candidate "dipping him three times" (Bunsen, Hippolytus and His Age). Dr. Brenner describing the ancient act of baptism says: "The administrator places his hand on the head or neck

MOSAIC IN SANTA MARIA IN COSMEDIN.

of the candidate and thus bows his head under water," and refers for illustration to the fabulous account of Constantine's baptism by Pope Sylvester: "When Sylvester had touched his head, and

immersed him in water" (Brenner, Baptism, p. 12).

The primitive practice was for the one who baptized to lay his hand on the candidate's head to immerse him. The best writers on the pictures explain the act in this way. Belstrasni, of Ravenna, says of the position of the hand of John in the Arian mosaic: "The priest placed his hand fully upon the head of the candidate while in the water; and thus by three immersions, the baptism was complete" (Belstrasni, Description of Arian Mosaic, p. 139). Ciampini says: "When the priest baptized, he laid his hand lightly upon the head of the candidate to indicate that his whole body had been plunged under water" (Ciampani, Vetera Monumenta). Bottari states: "The hand is placed on the head to indicate immersion" (Bottari, Sculpture piture, vol. 1, p. 198). Garrucci says: " The laying on of the hand was customary and of special moment in immersion" (Garrucci, Storia della Arte, vol. 2, p. 223). Cardinal Collona writes: "The catechumens, without clothing, descended into the water of the baptistery, and were thus immersed three times; the priest accompanying the act with his hand, and invoking at

each immersion the name of one of the persons of the Trinity" (Moroni, Dictionary Ecclesiastical History, vol. 4, p. 21). And De Rossi warns us: "We ought not to confound the imposition of the right hand with which the administrant accompanies the immersion of the candidate with what the bishop does with the neophyte, as he emerges from the water and is clothed in white at the confirmation" (De Rossi, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 234).

It would appear from whatever standpoint the pictures are approached the inevitable conclusion is reached that they illustrate immersion.

THE BISHOP'S CHAIR IN RAVENNA.

Scenes in the life of Christ are found in the celebrated Bishop's Chair in the Dome of the Sacistry of Ravenna, of the time of Bishop Maximianus, A. D. 546-52. Among these scenes, upon the back of the Bishop's chair, is a representation of the baptism of Jesus. The picture may be found in Garrucci, (Tav. 415, 10, Small 418, 2, in detail. Fleury, Pl. 22. Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, Paris 1884, II. Pl. C L V. Du

Sommerard, Les arts au moyen age, Album Ser. 1. pl. XI. Guhl and Caspar, Denkmaler der Kunst, III. Taf. fig. 4). The figure, as here given, is from Du Sommerard. Jesus is represented as a young man, with hands hanging down, with curved limbs, nude, standing in the waters of the Jordan ready to be immersed by John. To the left, as in the Ravenna mosaic, stands John the Baptist clothed in long hairy garments with one hand upon the head of the Saviour and the other out-stretched as if in the act of pronouncing the

baptismal formula. The Jordan from behind rushes from a cliff. A disciple stands by with garment, while an angel from above watches the baptism, and the dove hovers over the head of the Master. Garrucci sees an inscription upon the right which he interprets as the voice of the Father. The fast fleeing waters recall the one hundred and fourteenth Psalm, verse five: "What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest; thou Jordan, that wast driven back." This picture is a representation of immersion.

THE CUP OF ALBA.

A broken piece of glass found in the Esquiline, in Rome, in 1876, is supposed to represent the baptism of a girl; but it is only a supposition. It is called the Cup of Alba (De Rossi, *Bullitino*, 1876, Tav. I).

The glasses found in the Catacombs, and elsewhere in Rome, are of little archæological value. "The lamps and glasses," says Parker, "found in the Catacombs, but unfortunately never left there, have the same emblem as the inscriptions, and the same subjects as the paintings. Many of them are clearly of the fifth and sixth centuries, and very few, if any, earlier than the fourth. The

plates to Buonaroti and to Padre Garrucci's works enable us now to compare them with other paintings in works of art of which the dates are ascertained. Many of the subjects engraved on the glasses are evidently Pagan; the idea that they were all chalices, or all belonged to priests or martyrs, will not bear examination" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, p. 11).

The glasses have all been removed from their original places and that has greatly lessened their historical value. Parker says: "In the same manner the lamps and glass cups, which were found in the Catacombs belonging to particular graves, have all been removed to museums, and arranged according to the fancy or the convenience of the custodians. These would have been of ten fold more interest and value, if left where they were found. The Catacomb of the Jews was long one of the most interesting and important of the Catacombs, because there were many of the inscriptions and emblems allowed to remain on the walls (Ibid, p. 7).

It is quite probable that this so-called Cup of Alba is an imitation of some of the earlier glasses,

since in a great measure the earlier glasses were destroyed. Parker says: "That the Lombards, who, according to Anastasius, annihilated the Catacombs in the seventh century, should have respected the gilt glass vases found there, is in-

THE CUP OF ALBA.

credible. The greater part of those found in the sixteenth century must have been the imitations made by the popes and priests for the pilgrims in

the eigth and ninth centuries, and the drawings generally agree with that period better than any other. The corrupt mode of spelling the name of Jesus, as Zeses also indicates a very ignorant age, such as the ninth century. These gilt figures, it may be well to mention, are on the flat bottom of the round vases" (Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. 11, Plate I, Gilt Glass Vases).

Bennett claims that this fragment of glass probably dates from the fifth century (Bennett, Christian Archæology, p. 403), but there is no proof of it. *The Revue Chretien,* in a very able article, puts the matter in its true light when it says: "The first remark to be made upon these relics is, that their DATES are not assured, and therefore it is not safe to argue from them as to Christian doctrine or usages in the first centuries" (The Catacombs of Rome and their Doctrinal Lessons, May, 1864. *Theological Eclectic,* vol. 5, p. 47, 1868).

Indeed, it cannot be seriously argued that a fragment of broken glass picked up in Rome could be of much archæological value. Nothing is known of its date, where it certainly came from, yet those who practice affusion in their ardor to

prove their position make it of marked value.

The only thing that can interest those who practice affusion is the ampula which hangs over the girl's head, and out of which flows a liquid. Does it contain water? Pedobaptists say that it does. More likely the vessel contains oil for the annointing purposes in the Roman bath. Prof. Cheetham says of the ampula: "It denotes a vessel used for holding consecrated oil or chrism." Then he tells of a celebrated ampula that held the oil at the baptism of Clovis, and was subsequently used at the consecration of the Kings of France (Smith and Cheetham, vol. 1, p. 78).

Everything on the piece of glass would suggest immersion. The girl is in deep water, the dove represents the Holy Spirit, the olive branch of peace and the annointing oil all are there. Every suggestion and appendage of the picture suggests the practice of immersion.

JULIUS BASSUS.

The figure of the baptism of Julius Bassus is taken from the sarcophagus of Julius Bassus. It is now found in a crypt of St. Peter's, in Rome, where it has been placed for safe keeping. It is in a dark quarter and it has been difficult to get a

good picture on account of its position and the darkness which surrounds it. We are indebted for the picture to H. Grisar, of The Society of the Jesuites (Du Sarkophag des Junius Bassus in *Roemische Quartalschrift,* 1896. Taf. vii. 4).

It is a copy of a photograph taken by calcium light and is one of the illustrations which is used in connection with an article he wrote for the *Roemische Quartalschrift* in the year 1896. The inscription on the sarcophagus points out that Bassus became a neophyte in 359 and probably was baptized about that date and soon after his baptism he died. The spandrils of the five arches of the sarcophagus which makes up the lower portion are ornamented with figures which

form perhaps the most interesting part of the sarcophagus. The figures, however, are not clearly to be distinguished as they have probably suffered some damage (Bossio, Roma Sotterranae, p. 45). One of the figures, remark Northcote and Brownlow, represents a lamb which "imposes his foot upon the head of another lamb, while a dove pours down a stream of light upon the latter, signifying the seven fold gift of the Holy Ghost in the sacrament of confirmation" (Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, vol. 2, p. 260). They think "perhaps" the picture may represent the baptism of our Lord. This broken and worn stone is regarded by many Pedobaptists as a conclusive argument for pouring. Yet nothing was ever more erroneous. One figure represents Moses as touching the rock from which flows a river of water and in the midst of this river stands a lamb in the act of being immersed. Grisar declares that it represents "the baptism in the Jordan" (*Roemische Quartalschrift,* 1896), and affords no suspicion of an affusion.

After having discussed this and some other figures Strzygowski says: "Which moment is truly represented? Does John hold the hand upon

or over the head of Christ in order to dip him under, or to confer confirmation? The last can not be here the reading since that occurred after the candidate left the water. But Christ yet stands in the Jordan. The artist would therefore represent the immersion as the custom was usually represented in the ritual act" (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 8). This is the only rational conclusion and corresponds with the facts in the case.

XI.

SOME MISCELLANEOUS REPRESENTATIONS OF BAPTISM.

This picture, from Victor Schultze (Die Katakomben von San Genario dei Poveri Neapel, s. 6. Garrucci, Tav. 94, 3), represents the baptism of

Christ from the Catacomb of S. Genario dei Poveri, near Naples. It is supposed to be of the date A. D. 759. It is reported that Paul II., preceding his elevation to the bishopric, had dwelt

in this Catacomb and on Easter times had baptized candidates in the baptistery. In searching for the baptistery this picture of Jesus was discovered. All of the figures are nimmed which would indicate a late origin of the picture. Jesus is represented as a strong figure, nude and up to his knees in water. John has both hands out-stretched as if in the act of blessing. Two angels stand holding garments to clothe the Saviour after the immersion.

A SARCOPHAGUS IN THE LATERAN MUSEUM.

A sarcophagus cover is found in the Lateran which originally came from one of the Roman cemeteries and is supposed to be of the fourth century (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 6). It is found in a cycle of paintings representing Jesus from his birth to his resurrection. One of these representations is of the baptism of Jesus (Rohault de Fluery, L' evangile. Tours, 1874 Pl. XXXII. Garrucci, Tav. 316, I.

Roller, II. pl. LXVII. Aringhi, Sotterranea, 1671, Tav. 46). It is claimed by Graniello that it represents immersion and affusion (Graniello, Giernale arcadico, Nuova serie tom. XXXVI. p. 182). But it must be remembered that the cover is a restoration and not the original (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 6). Garrucci declares that the "arm and head of the baptized one and the head of the administrator have been restored." This supplement added by the hand of the restorer representing the Baptist pouring water on Jesus from a shell gives a false impression of the monuments. No early instance represents John pouring water on Jesus.

THE MONASTERY AT ALISCAMPS.

A picture of the baptism of Christ, is given by Le Blant (Le Blant, Pl. XII. Fig. 3. Text, p.

24. Under XVII). It was found in the walls of a Monastery at Aliscamps. It has, however, been

so effaced that but little can be made of it, and it would not be safe to express a decided opinion concerning its value. Le Blant himself gives his picture from a representation of earlier times, which is now destroyed.

A BOTTLE IN MONZA.

There is preserved a metal bottle used for the purpose of keeping pure the anointing oil. It is supposed to have been given by Queen Theudelinde to Gregory, the Great, and is found to-day as one of the treasures preserved in the Cathedral of Monza (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 14). Both of the leading figures are of the type of the sarcophagus. Jesus stands in the river up to his knees in water which flows through the cliffs to the right and left. The position of John and of the angel would remind one much of the Ravenna mosaics. The figures are all nimmed which would indicate that the work was done in the ninth or later centuries. Either the bottle is of much later date than Gregory, or the work has been retouched and the

aureoles have been added by a later hand (Garrucci, Tav. 433 8. Frisi, Memorie storiche di Monza, I. Tav. XIV).

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY IN PARIS.

Of the eleventh century, Bordier (Description des paintures et autres ornements contenus dans les mss. grecs. de la bibl. nat. Paris, 1883, p. 140,

No. II), calls attention to a manuscript of Gregory of Nizianzus which is in the National Library in Paris, and is marked as Folio 154 a. It contains a picture of the baptism of Jesus. The water flows through the deep cliffs of rocks. Jesus stands up to his neck in the waters, while John's

arm reaches to the middle of the stream and rests upon the head of Jesus. Angels stand upon the opposite shore as interested spectators and assistants. The ax lays at the root of the tree while the dove descends from above. It reminds one of the picture of the Menology in the Vatican.

A SYRIAN BIBLE FROM MESOPOTAMIA.

In Laurentina, Florence, is a Syrian Bible from Mesopotamia from the Monk Rabula of the date of 586. It represents the baptism of Jesus (Garrucci, Tav. 130, 2. Fluery, I. pl. XXXII, 1. D' Agincourt, Peint., Pl. 27, 5). Christ stands in the river with only his upper body above the water. He is of short statue, bearded and quite nude. His hair is closely cropped. The water runs full to the banks of the river, and John the Baptist bends over to immerse Jesus. A hand points down from the heavens and the dove descends. There are no rays of light which proceed from the dove. The angel which is seen in many other pictures is absent from this one.

A BRONZE MEDALLION IN THE VATICAN.

There is a bronze Medallion in the Vatican Library which represents the baptism of Jesus (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 14. Garrucci, Tav. 480, 50). De Rossi (*Bulletino di Arch. christ.*, 1869, p. 58) supposes that these medallions were given to the pilgrims who made journeys to holy places to carry back home with them and there is reason in his

conclusions. This one is copied after the picture in Maria in Cosmedin, in Ravenna. The Saviour is up to his waist in water with his hands hanging down. The Baptist stands on the right bank with one hand on Jesus ready to immerse him. Graniello (Giornale archadio, Nuova series, Tom. XXXVI. p. 184) suggests that the baptism here represents an affusion, but Strzygowski truly says (Iconographie, s. 14 note) that there is nothing to indicate it. This shows another of the reckless claims that have been made to force these pictures to represent affusion.

A MENOLOGY IN THE VATICAN.

A miniature painting from a Greek Menology, in the Library of the Vatican, tenth century, gives a picture of Jesus baptized by John in Jordan (Menologium Græcorum, 3 vols). The capital letters of the Menology are of gold with

colored edges. It is one of the most valuable manuscripts in the Vatican. It contains four hundred and thirty miniature paintings. The engraving of this work with a Latin translation, was commenced by Pope Clement XI., continued by his successors, Innocent XIII., and Benedict XIII., completed by his nephew Annebale Albani, and published under the following title, Monologium Græcorum, jussu Basilii imperatoris Græca, 3 vols. folio, Urbini 1727. The picture (D'Agincourt, vol. 3, Pl. XXI. 24) represents the baptism of Jesus by immersion. Jesus is a strong, bearded figure, standing in the Jordan up to his shoulders. His left hand falls to his side while his right is extended to John. The Baptist stands upon the bank of the river, the left hand holds up his long garments, while the right is placed on the brow of Christ. On the opposite side of the river are two interested angels, holding garments ready to clothe the Redeemer. A hand let down from heaven holds a dove which pours out rays of light upon the scene.

ST. PAUL OUTSIDE THE GATES OF ROME.

The Church of St. Paul, outside the Gates of Rome, was destroyed by fire in 1828. The great

Door of the Church was enriched with figures, engraved in outline in the bronze, and filled in with silver. The Door was executed in Constantinople, A. D. 1070. The Door was of wood and covered with strong plates of bronze. The whole front was divided into six equal parts in width, and nine in heighth, giving fifty-four oblong departments, containing subjects, figures and inscriptions. Twelve of these subjects were from the life of Christ, and occupied the upper left hand panels. The pictures were not in relief, but engraved in outline in the bronze, and the lines filled in with silver, which however time and the cupidity of man had effaced. The inscriptions were in Greek, Latin, Arabic and Syriac (D'Agincourt, vol. 3, Pl. XIV. 10. Nicolai, La Basilica di S. Paolo, Roma 1815, Tav. XII. The picture in Nicolai is a poor one). The figures are somewhat different from those we are accustomed to see. Jesus stands in the water ready to be immersed by John. He has on a short tunic, one hand hangs by his side, the other is extended to John. John has his right hand on the head of Jesus ready to dip him. Two figures stand with cloth in hand ready to assist Jesus after his baptism. At the feet of Jesus is

a figure which probably is intended to represent a penitent believer. On the right toward his feet is a cross on a cylinder which is placed on a pedestal with three steps. From a semi-circle in the

clouds appears a hand which lets down a dove, and from the dove, or rather from beyond the dove, comes a beam of light.

A CUT STONE.

The baptism of Jesus is represented upon a cut stone (Garrucci, Tav. 478, 41. Mentioned by De Rossi in *Bullettino di Arch.*, 1877, p. 48). John and Jesus both stand in the water and John appears to be in the act of embracing Jesus. They both wear short coats. The picture is small and not many details are given.

IVORY BOOK-COVER IN MILAN.

Sculptured ivory was early used in making covers for sacred volumes. Their purpose as a material safeguard to early and valuable manuscripts of the Scriptures, contributed doubtless, to their own protection; for the largest number of specimen book covers preserved are of this character. One of these covers is preserved in the treasures of the

Cathedral of Milan. The etching is upon a pair of magnificent covers upon a Gospel manuscript and belongs, it is supposed, to the sixth century. It shows an independence of the art of the Catacombs and doubtless had its origin in some other part of the Roman Empire. The central picture of the cover is a lamb, representing our Lord; and beginning with the Nativity the series leads up to the Passion. The picture here given (Jameson and Eastlake, History of our Lord, vol. 1, p. 22. Arundal Society, CL. IV. No. 1, p. 18, 1855. Garrucci. Tav. 454. Bugatti, Memorie storiche intorno le reliquæ di St. Celso, Milano, 1782, p. 282) represents the baptism of the Lord. The best picture we have seen of the cover is from Labarte (Hist. des arts ind., Album Pl. VI). Jesus stands in the Jordan, one hand falls to his side while the other is extended toward John as if requesting baptism. The Baptist contrary to many of the pictures stands in the water. One hand is upon the head of Jesus, the other holds the shepherd's crook. A great river rushes from a cliff and spreads far around. The scene is a portrayal of an immersion.

IVORY IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

The Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, possesses a valuable panel which was originally part of a book cover. It is of ivory and contains twelve Biblical carvings. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, librarian of the Bodleian, says of this cover: "The ivory panel has been let into the eighteenth century binding of a ninth or tenth century manuscript. The panel itself is probably ninth or tenth century and may have belonged to the original binding of the manuscript. The manuscript itself before the French Revolution belonged to the Abbey of St. Faron, near Meaux. The section showing the baptism is very small, only about one and one-half inches by one inch" (Letter to myself, March 15, 1901). One of these figures represents the baptism of Jesus (Didron, Annales Arch., XX. (1860) p. 118. Westwood Fictile Ivories, p. 55. The Arundal Society, CL. V. No. 1). The picture here given was made directly from a magnificent photograph made especially for this work, and represents the entire book cover. Jesus is represented as a boy. He is up to his knees in the river which flows from a cliff behind him, while upon the right is a rocky wall. The Baptist stands upon the left side with his hand upon the head of

the Saviour and a shepherd's crook in his left hand. Rays of light are pouring down from the bill of a dove over the head of Jesus. The picture represents immersion.

IVORY COVER IN MUENCHEN.

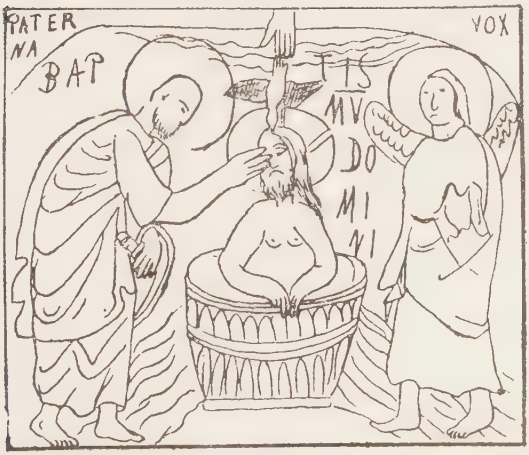
On the back cover of a splendid ivory plate which contains a copy of the Gospels in the Bavarian Library of the State, in Muenchen, are three

series of paintings (Cod. cum. pict. Nro. 82). The pictures were carved in A. D. 1051-53. The first series contain: The announcement, the birth, and baptism. The style would indicate that the work is of Byzantine origin and portrays the Greek ideas (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 21). In the baptismal picture (Ibid. Pl. III., 5) Jesus stands

naked in the Jordan, which rises in great waves around him. One hand is extended to John and one is placed over a part of the body. The head is full of hair and the bearded face gives the countenance a curious effect. John stands on the bank immersing the Saviour. Two angels on the opposite shore held a cloth ready to dry him. The ax is laid at the root of the tree and a small cross is erected on a pedestal of the two steps. John and Jesus have the nimbus. It is altogether a curious picture.

IVORY TABLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A strange departure from the representation of



baptism in the New Testament is found in an Ivory Table preserved in the British Museum. It represents Jesus baptized, not in the Jordan, but in a baptistery. This form of representation is quite common in Lombardian art. The change introduced is not in the form of baptism which was still by immersion, but from a river to a baptistery. If it be objected that the baptistery is too small for the act of immersion, the reply is that the artist intended to represent baptism by immersion. There is at hand a positive proof of this statement. Of much the same date and origin is a picture of St. Dorothea, the martyr. She is represented as being drowned in a baptistery of this size. Her whole body is in the baptistery and her head is pressed beneath the waters. In this picture Jesus sits in the baptistery with his hands folded and placed upon the edge of the baptistery. He has a long beard and long hair, and is entirely nude. The Baptist is a long figure clothed in a robe. He bends reverently toward the Saviour. In his left hand he holds a roll, and the right is on the brow of Jesus. A hand lets the dove down from above. On the right stands an angel, which is so common in the Lombardian pictures. Above

is the inscription PATERNA VOX, while between the figures are the words BAPTISMU DOMINI. This clearly shows that a picture of the Lord's baptism is intended.

IVORY IN SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

A very similar ivory to the one mentioned in the Milan Cathedral is found in the South Kensington Museum, London (Westwood, Fictile Ivories, p. 41, sect. 43). It was originally from Werden,

in Westphalen (Garrucci, Tav. 447, 3). At the right of the ivory plate is represented the baptism of Jesus (Garrucci, VI. p. 69). The date must be much later than the one in Milan since the

figure of Jesus is nimmed. To the left of the picture is a group of persons who have come to the baptism of Jesus. One lays the ax to the root of the tree and the serpent would represent the generation of vipers.

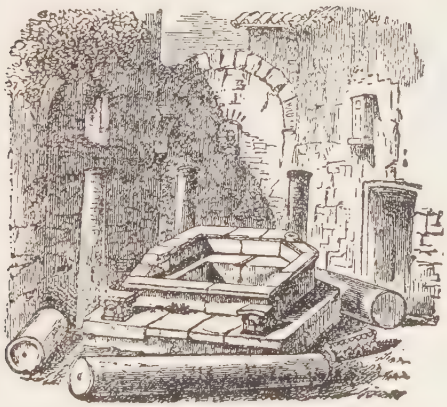
ST. MARK'S IN VENICE.

There is a picture in the Baptistery of St. Mark's, in Venice, which, according to Paciaudius

(D Cultu S. Johannis Baptistæ, Rome, 1775, p. 57), dates from 1343 from Andreas Dædalus. But

Strzygowski insists that it must be an hundred years earlier (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 20). It is intended as a representation of the baptism of Christ as given by Matthew. The little fishes show the multitude of the disciples. Already the ax is at the root of the tree. The water is piled up around the body of Jesus as baptism was portrayed in the Middle Ages. The cross and the star appear in the heavens.

This same cathedral contains two other pictures of baptism. One is that of St. Mark baptizing



RUINS OF AN ANCIENT BAPTISTERY AT AQUILEIJA.

the early disciples of Aqueleija. There is no

doubt that the conception in this instance is immersion. The other is that of a noted official, which is by the same act. De Rossi tries hard to make the custom of Aquileija that of affusion, but the archæological remains are all against him. For witness reference need only be made to the old Baptistery (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Antiq., Art. Baptism), the Baptistery of St. Mark's and to other archæalogical remains.

Upon the enamel of the celebrated pala d'ore of St. Mark's Church, Venice, is a picture of the baptism of Jesus of the date of 1105 (Labarte, Hist. des arts ind., III. pp. 397-419. Also Atlas, II. Pl. CIV. Du Sommerard, Les arts au moyen age, Ser. X. Pl. XXXIII. Cicognora, Le fabrice e i monumenti conspicui di Venezia, 2 ed. Venezia, 1838, vol. 1, Tav. 8. Durand in Annales arch., vol. 20, 1860, p. 253 under No. 112). Jesus stands in the river, which is full to the banks. It is an interesting picture and represents immersion.

MOSAIC IN THE DOME OF MONREALE.

There is a striking mosaic in the Dome of Monreale, which is of the twelfth century. It is of

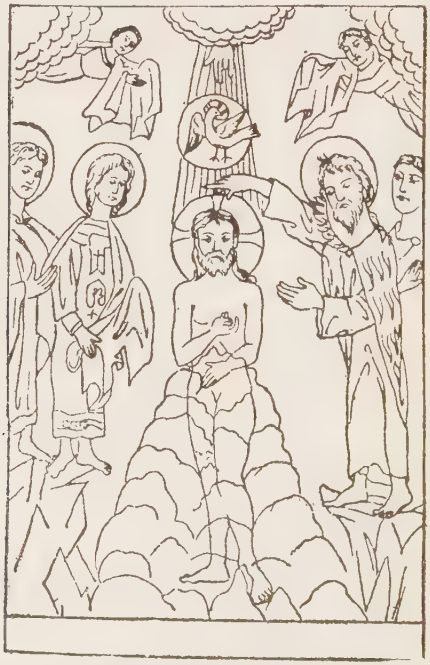
Byzantine origin (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 28). Jesus stands up to his neck in the Jordan, while John stands on the rocky shore and presses his head into the waters. Jesus is nude, with his limbs in the form of a cross. John is a bearded man in a long tunic. Behind him is the tree with the ax at the foot of it. Two persons, possibly disciples, from behind John watch the baptism.

On the opposite shore are two angels. From above the head of Jesus, out of a semi-circle, a hand pours rays of light, and a dove is seen in the light hovering over the head of Jesus. In Greek the sign of baptism appears. At the feet of Jesus is the figure of a young man who probably is a penitent in the act of supplication. The scene, of

course cannot represent any form of baptism save immersion.

PSALTER IN STUTTGART.

There is a rich miniature found in a Psalter from Count Hermann von Thuringen, A. D. 1196-1216, found in the Royal Library at Stuttgart.



It represents Jesus standing in the Jordan and the water is raised pyramid fashion to his waist.

He has his hands folded and is in the attitude of prayer. John a tall bearded man stands on a bank with one hand above Jesus and the other extended as if in the attitude of prayer. Other persons are reverently standing by. Angels appear in the clouds with garments to clothe the Saviour, who is quite nude. There are down-pourings of the light and in the rays a dove is seen in a circle. This picture is from Strzygowski.

ST. PETER AT SALTZBURG.

In the Antiphona of the Monastery at Saltzburg,

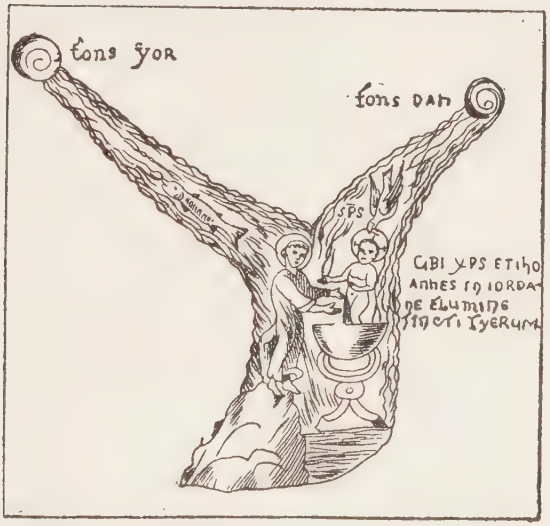
p. 198, of the year 1100 is a picture of the baptism of Jesus.

The Saviour is dressed in a long flowing robe. The river is up to his shouders and around his garments swim the fish. One hand hangs to his side with the index finger pointing downward. His head is slightly inclined toward the Baptist. John is dressed in a long hairy robe, one hand is on the brow of the Saviour, while the other is extended as if to support him in the baptism. The angel with cloth in hand is ready to assist Jesus. A company of astonished men, from behind John, watch the baptism. It is a typical picture of the period.

BIBLE IN LIBRARY IN TURIN.

A very strange picture of the baptism of Jesus is found in an old Bible, of Italian origin, which picture was published by Paciaudius, and was found in his time in the Royal Library, in Turin. The picture is probably of the twelfth century. It is unlike any picture of the baptism of Christ known to me in literature. The two sources of the Jordan, Jor and Dan, are given and the river runs in a spiral course to a uniting place. A fish is seen ascending the stream. Jesus stands in a basin in the river and is surrounded by the waters of the Jordan. The dove is about to light upon

him. John having performed the immersion has his hands stretched out as about to receive Jesus from the floods. John is represented as standing on a cliff. The inscription of the baptism is:



UBI XPS et Iohannes in Jordane flumine tincti fuerunt. The artist thus expressly says the picture refers to dipping.

A WOODEN DOOR IN COLOGNE.

Upon the North Wooden Door of the St, Maria, on the Capitol, in Cologne, is a unique painting of

the baptism of Christ. The picture is taken from Gailhabaud. Jesus is represented as nude standing upon the center of a dragon which writhes beneath him. One hand wide open is extended downward. The dove, unlike those in most pictures, has already alighted on his head. John has his hand upon the head of Jesus and an angel extends the clothing to Jesus. John has a beard but Jesus has none. The entire group of figures are nimmed not excepting the dove.

MINIATURE IN LIBRARY IN GOTHA.

In a Miniature, in a Gospel, which is now found in the Library at Gotha, of the reign of Theophanu, 983-91, is a picture of the baptism of Jesus. Jesus is beardless and stands in a hil-

lock of water up to his waist. John lays his left hand upon the head of Jesus and his right upon his breast to immerse him in the Jordan. John is represented as a bearded man.

Jesus has a nimbus but John has not. A nimmed dove looks down from above. The inscription reads S. Iohannis.

LUNETTE IN MONZA.

A picture of the baptism of Christ of Lombardian origin, is found in the lunette in the bas-

relief, over the great door of the Church of St. John the Baptist, in Monza, near Milan. The Church is a baptismal Church, that is a church with a baptistery, and was built about 590-615, and later decorated. The field over the door is

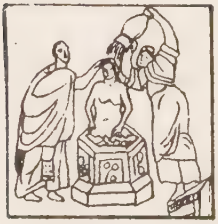
divided by a horizontal strip into two parts. The upper part contains a picture of the Queen and her husband, Agiluf, together with her children and some members of her household. The

baptism of Jesus occupies the lower part and the immersion occurs in the presence of the Virgin and of Paul on the right and Peter and Joseph on the left. These figures, however, are separated from the baptism by olive trees, John is clothed in a long robe, his right hand contains an ampula for the annointing or confirming of Jesus, while his left hands rests upon the head of Jesus. The river is raised like a pyramid around the body of Jesus after the order of the later Middle Ages. One hand of Jesus rests on his face the other hangs by his side. An angel stands ready to assist him when he comes from the water. The dove is above the head of Jesus and holds an ampula in its bill and pours annointing oil on the head of Jesus. Those who are interested in following up the pictures will notice some interesting developments in the form and size of the ampula. At a later period ignorant artists represent quite a large vessel from which water is poured upon the head of the candidate. This picture could possibly be interpreted to mean that the immersion was completed by affusion. It is more probable, however, that the artist desired to set

forth that the baptism was a complete covering, or wetting, in water, which the mere presence of the candidate in the baptistery did not fully indicate. One is more confirmed in this opinion since the baptism of a number of well-known persons, where all history states that the act was an immersion, were represented in Lombardian art as baptized in this way. The nimbus and other accessories would indicate that the picture in its present form belongs to the tenth or later century.

THE ALTAR CLOTH OF ST. AMBROSIO.

The Altar Cloth of St. Ambrosio, in Milan, contains a picture of the baptism of Jesus. This picture is taken from Du Sommerard. De Rossi, and other Pedobaptists, have much to say of this representation of baptism. In order to defend affusion De Rossi has made an unfair use of this picture. He takes such monuments as he thinks afford some evidence of affusion and groups them together without ref-



erence to country or age. From reading his words one would be led to believe that this altar cloth was of early date, when as a matter of fact no claim is made for it before the time of Archbishop Angilbert, in 827. Such a use of monuments is unfair to say nothing of it being uncritical and unscholarly. Neither is it a fact that the Altar Cloth, as it now exists, is precisely the same as then existed. Even as it stands the Altar Cloth does not represent affusion. The most that De Rossi can make out of it is that it is a picture of "affusion and immersion." It really sustains, from De Rossi's staindpoint no one's position, since no Christians practice "affusion and immersion." De Rossi himself declares he is not acquainted with any monument which teaches "the rite of pouring water on the head of a person on dry ground." That, however, is the only point in dispute. One cannot afford to be dogmatic on points of this character, yet it may be suggested, that it is possible, that affusion was not in the mind of the artist at all. It is possible that the idea of immersion was in his mind. If the artist intended to portray affuson why place the candidate in the baptistery at all? Is it not rather after the form of

Lombardian art that when the baptistery was represented as small, that the artist desired to show that every part of the body was covered with water and consequently equal to an immersion. Attention is called to the well-known fact that immersion at this time, and long afterwards, was the form of baptism practiced in Milan. These things are mentioned not in the way of argument, but to plead for a principle too often disregarded, namely: That we should take into account not a partisan statement of a case but all of the facts should be duly weighed and a calm conclusion reached. This is certainly the historical temperament, and it is too frequently sacrificed to prejudice or preconceived opinions.

THE EGBERT CODEX AT TRIER.

The Egbert Codex, which originated in the Closter of Reichenau, is preserved in the State Library at Trier, and is found in folio 19 at John 1:29-32. The date is 980-93. Jesus is represented as a little man standing between John and two angels. He is nude with the waters of the Jordan heaped in a semi-circle around his body. John is a strange looking figure who lays his hand not on the head of Jesus but on the nimbus. The dove

appears above in a flood of light. Above the figure of John is written IOHANNIS and over the angel is ANGELI. It is a suggestive figure of dipping.

A CROSS FROM PACIAUDIUS.

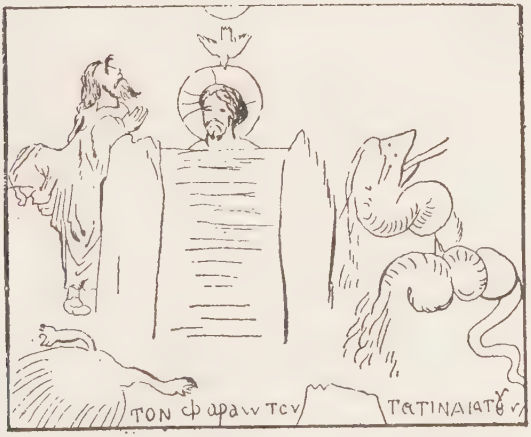
One of the most interesting crosses upon which baptismal scenes are portrayed is found in Paciaudius (Paciaudius, p. 63. Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 31). The Saviour stands in the river nude, save a garment around his waist, his legs are crossed, his hands hang down, and his body is bowed

toward John who is in the act of immersing him. John is clothed in long garments with the wings

of an angel and has the nimbus around his head. Other figures stand in the background overlooking the scene. The wings of John perhaps refer to the passage where it says: "Behold I send my angel before me." The picture varies in many ways from other representations of baptism.

THE CHUDLOW PSALTER.

Many of the old Psalters have pictures of baptism in them. They are generally in illustration



of Psalm 74:13: "Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou breakest the heads of the dragons in the waters." And Psalm 114:5: "What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou

Jordan, that thou wast driven back?" One of the most interesting of these is the Chudlow Psalter. It was formerly from the Closter at Mount Athos. but now preserved in the Collection, in Chudlow, Moscow, Russia (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 32, 33). Jesus is represented with a nimbus and above him is a dove. He is up to his neck in water. The river seems to flow through artificial barriers. John, a curious looking person, stands with his hands folded resting upon a bank of the river. On the right an awful dragon has been rent in twain and is still writhing with the blood flowing from its veins and the venemous tongue hissing. On the left is another monster difficult to describe. The Psalter is known as 72 b in that Collection. So far as the form of baptism is concerned all of the suggestions are favorable to immersion.

A SARCOPHAGUS IN MADRID.

Upon a sarcophagus in Madrid, in the Academy of History, is a representation of the baptism of Jesus (Aureliano Fernandez Guerray v Orbe. Monnmentos Arquitectonicos de Espana, p. 91. Garrucci, Tav. 341, 3). It was found not far from Murcia. The representation is somewhat compressed. There are only three figures.

John is clothed in a short frock, bearded, barefoot; Jesus is standing in the water with his face toward John. The river pours down from above and the dove flies between the head of John and the cliff.

A PICTURE FROM MABILLON.

Mabillon gives a drawing from a sarcophagus (Annalles ordinis S. Benedicti, Lucae 1739. Tafelzu p. 574. Garrucci O. Tav. 403-4). The sarcophagus is now lost. The water does

not flow from a cliff but like a flame from the clouds, and when the river reaches the ground it spreads around Jesus. Jesus is a boy, while John is a bearded man. Behind John is a man who possibly represents a disciple. John reaches forth his hand for the purpose of hiding Jesus under the waters (Strzygowski Iconographie, s. 6).

ARLES.

A very interesting scene is portrayed on a sarchophagus found in Arles (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 5, 7.) It represents Christ as a boy

entirely nude. A river pours down in a peculiar manner from above and spreads itself on the ground. The presence of the dove would indicate that the baptism was far advanced. John a bearded man, stands with one hand on the head of Jesus and the other raised in astonishment toward the heavens. The date of the sarcophagus is not known.

Some fragments have also been discovered in Arles (Strzygowski, Iconographie, s. 7), of a sarcophagus. It is supposed that the fragments originally belonged to the same piece of sculpture

as the one mentioned above, as they fit well together and correspond in design. The Saviour is wholly immersed in water. John appears to be in the act of completing the immersion. The figure is an interesting one and certainly points to the form of baptism by immerson (Garrucci, Tav. 398, 9. Le Blant, Pl. I. Fig. 2 and 3).

ANCONA.

A similar representation to the sarcophagus in

Arles is found in the Cathedral of Ancona (Garrucci, O. Tav. 326, 1. Agostino Perruzzi Lachiesa Aconitana, Part I. Ancona 1845, Tav. 3, 4). It is somewhat more compressed than the former. Jesus is a nude child standing directly under the stream of water flowing down. The stream disappears altogether behind Christ. John has his hand on the brow of Jesus and is in the act of dipping him in the Jordan. There is no figure of a dove. A prophet stands on the opposite side of the stream with a roll in his hand. The roll would indicate that the child was old enough to

receive instruction and therefore of an age to receive baptism.

XII.

THE REPUTED BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE BY SYLVESTER.

In the Lateran Baptistery in Rome, is a picture, which represents the baptism of Constantine by Sylvester. There are two things which mark the picture as of late date, 1. The priest in the picture wears the beretta, which was unknown before the tenth century, and 2. At the time of the baptism of Constantine Sylvester had been dead for two years. Constantine was not baptized in Rome, but a thousand miles to the East, by Eusebius, in Nicomedia, in Asia Minor. As he was baptized by a Greek of course the act was immersion. In the time of Constantine sprinkling was not practiced on a man in health, and only occasionally in extreme

cases of sickness. These statements will be examined in detail.

There are several pictures which represent the baptism of Constantine. The earliest of these is set down by Hemans at A. D. 1140, but it has neither "the freedom nor truthfulness distinguishing works of the classics" (Hemans, Mediæval Christianity and Sacred Art, vol. 1, p. 271). It certainly lacks "the element of truth." He further declares that the picture represents both an "immersion" in "an ample font and affusion" (Ibid, p. 272). At the time of the painting of the picture "baptism was still administered with tripple immersion" (Ibid, p. 246).

If this painting represents the baptism of Constantine, as some claim "as immersion and an affusion," the Roman Catholic traditions only represent the baptism as a dipping. The claim is that Constantine was afflicted with leprosy and at the time of his baptism by trine immersion he was healed. This tradition is voiced by John Sichardus. He says: "He himself has shown thee the fulness of piety, when he immersed thee the third time, all the weakness of leprosy left thee. In which blessed fountain the waves of sal-

vation has cleansed me in tripple immersion" (Confessio Constantini imp. Colonæ, 1569).

There is no authority for the declaration that Constantine was baptized by Sylvester in Rome. The picture is simply a false representation. W. Browning Smith says: "There is no historical foundation for the assertion of Baronius and other Catholic writers that the emperor received baptism from Pope Sylvester in Rome" (Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. 6, p. 301).

That Constantine was not baptized in Rome but in Bithynia is equally evident. All of the early historians say this. They further state that he was immersed.

Eusebius says he came to the suburbs of Nicomedia. There he summoned the bishops to meet him, and addressed them in the following words: "The time has arrived for which I have long hoped for, with an earnest desire and prayer that I might obtain the salvation of God. The hour is come in which I may receive the seal of salvation. I had thought to do this IN THE WATERS OF THE RIVER JORDAN, wherein our Saviour, for our example, is recorded to have been baptized;

but God, who knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here. Be it so, then, without delay; for should it be his will who is Lord of life and death, that my existence here should be prolonged, and should I be destined henceforth to associate with the people of God, and unite with them in prayer as a member of his church, I will prescribe to myself from this time such a course of life as benefits his service. After he had thus spoken, the prelate performed the sacred ceremonies in THE USUAL MANNER, and having given him the necessary instructions, made him a partaker of the mystic ordinance. Thus was Constantine the first of all sovereigns who was regenerated and perfected in a church dedicated to the martyrs of Christ; thus gifted with the divine seal of baptism, he rejoicing in spirit was renewed, and filled with heavenly light; his soul was gladdened by reason of the fervency of his faith, and astonished at the manifestation of the power of God. At the conclusion of the ceremony he arrayed himself in shining imperial vestments, brilliant as the light, and reclined on a couch of the purest white refusing to clothe himself with the purple any

more" (Eusebius, The Life of Constantine, B. iv. c. 61, 62).

Theodoret says: "A year and a few months subsequently (A. D. 337), the emperor was ill in Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia. Being thus led to reflect on the uncertainty of human life, he received the holy rite of baptism, which he had intended to have deferred until he could be baptized in the river of Jordan" (Theodoret, Eccl. Hist., B. i. c. 32).

Evagrius says: "Theodoret, in his history, says that Constantine partook in the saving baptism at Nicomedia, near the close of his life, and that he had deferred the rite to this period, from a desire that it should be performed in the river Jordan" (Evagrius, Eccl. Hist., B. iii c. 41).

Sozomon says: "His malady, however, increased, and he went to Nicomedia, and was initiated into holy baptism in one of the suburbs of that city" (Sozomon, Eccl. Hist., B. ii. c. 33).

Thus we have the unanimous testimony of the Greek historians that he was baptized in the East. Constantine had desired to be baptized in the river of Jordan, but he was prevented by a violent illness. Although sick he was baptized "in the

usual way" by immersion. So delighted was he that he would not again put on the royal purple, but continued to wear the white garments of the newly immersed.

But sprinkling was no more the form of baptism practiced in St. John the Lateran, than it was in the East. The Ordinal of that Church directed that the baptism should take place by immersion. The Ordinal declares that Saturday, before Easter, was the principal day for baptizing. "The pope went to the baptismal hall, and, after various lessons and psalms, consecrated the baptismal water. Then while all were adjusting themselves in their proper places, his Holiness retired into an adjoining chapel of St. John the Evangelist, attended by some acholothists, who took off his habits, put on him a pair of waxen drawers and a surplice, and then returned to the baptistery. There three children were waiting, which was the number usually baptized by the Pontiff. Silence was ordered. When the first was presented he asked, 'What is his name?' The attendant answered, 'John.' Then he proceeded thus: 'John, dost thou believe in God, the Father Almighty, the Creator of Heaven and Earth?' 'I do believe.'

'Doth thou believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born and suffered death?' 'I do believe.' 'Doth thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life eternal?' 'I do believe.' 'John, do you desire to be baptized?' 'I do desire it.' 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father," DIPPING him once, 'and of the Son,' DIPPING him the second time, 'and of the Holy Ghost,' DIPPING him the third time. The Pontiff added, 'May you obtain eternal life.' John answered, 'Amen.' The same was then repeated to Peter, and to Mary, the other two. Attendants with napkins then received the children, and retired to dress them. The attendants of his Holiness threw a mantle over his surplice and he retired. The rest of the catechumens were baptized by deacons, who, in clean habits, and without shoes, went down into the water and performed the ceremony as the Pontiff had set them the example. After all was over and the children were dressed they waited on the Pope in an adjacent room, where he confirmed them,

and delivered to each chrism and a white garment" (Ordo Roman, x. 22, i. 43).

It is certain therefore, that the Ordinal used in St. John Lateran Church prescribed the form of baptism as an immersion. The practice of immersion is further indicated by many things about the church.

Dr. A. J. Rowland, Secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society, gives the following description of the Baptistery of St. John Lateran: "The building is about fifty feet in diameter. The pool of the baptistery is of green asphalt, and is about twenty feet long by fifteen wide, the form being that of an ellipse. There seemed to be a false wooden floor in the bottom, but the depth with even this was something over three feet. I asked the 'cicerone' who showed us the place, who seemed

to belong to one of the lower orders of the clergy, the meaning of this large font, so unlike those in modern churches, and he replied that its size was due to the fact that anciently people were immersed. I inquired if it was ever used for immersion now. 'Yes,' he said,' on Easter eve Jews and Pagans who accept faith of the church are baptized herein that way.' This fact I subsequently found in Bædeker's celebrated Guide Book.

"On the right and left of the baptistery, doors open into two small apartments, now known as oratorios or chapels; on the ceiling of one of them is an old mosaic, dating back to the fifth century, representing John the Baptist performing the rite of immersion. It struck me that these two apartments may have been originally dressing-rooms for baptismal occasions. Between the font and the outer wall there is space enough I think, for four or five hundred spectators to witness a baptism. On the day of my visit this space was occupied by a number of classes of boys, who were taught by Romish priests very much after the fashion of our Sunday-school.

"Altogether the building proclaims in the most positive way the antiquity of the practice of im-

mersion. It seems absurd to suppose that the ancient church should have gone to the trouble of erecting this large building for no other purpose than to immerse its members, had it not been the primitive and prescribed mode. I left the building with my faith in the baptism by immersion deeply confirmed and strengthened."

Luebke, in speaking of the Lateran Baptistery, says: "The center of this building received a deep basin (*piscina*), to which several steps descended, and in which persons to be baptized received his baptism standing, by dipping (*immersio*)" (Luebke, Ecclesiastical Art in Germany, p. 185).

Vicecomes declares of this baptistery: "I judge from the bottom of the font there was much depth to the surface of the water, because it was customary to immerse the righteous in the water" (Robinson, The History of Baptism, p. 98)

Two things are ascertained by this discussion: 1, That Constantine was immersed in the East by a pastor of a Greek Church; and 2, That baptism was performed in Rome, in the St. John Lateran Church by immersion.

The practice of immersion looses nothing by an examination of the pictures. In every investiga-

tion where there appears to be a semblance of evidence to support the rite of pouring at that point will be found the evidences of changes or restorations in the pictures.

XIII.

SOME STRIKING PICTURES.

A painting of Cyril baptizing a Bulgarian convert is found in the Basilica of St. Clement in Rome. De Rossi says that it is a painting of the tenth century "of immersion and affusion" (De Rossi, *Bullettino,* February, 1863, p. 12, August, 1864, p. 58). But there is no indication in the picture of "affusion" since every suggestion is favorable to immersion.

The Bulgarians belonged to the Greek Church and the invariable practice was immersion. Wall

says of them: "And if we take the divisions of the world from the three main parts of it, all the Christians in Asia, all in Africa, and about one-third part of Europe are of the last sort (that practice immersion); in which part of Europe are comprehended the Christians of Græcia Thracia, Servia, Bulgaria, Rascia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Russia Nigra, etc., and even the Muscovites, who, if coldness of the country will excuse, might plead for a dispensaton with the most reason of all. Dr. Crull gives this account of them: 'The priest takes the child stark naked into his arms, and dips him three times into the water, etc. The water is never warmed over the fire, though the cold be never so excessive; but they put it sometimes in some warm place or other, to take off a little of the cold" (Wall, History of Infant Baptism, vol. 1, p. 589).

CHURCH BOOK IN SAN CELSO, MILAN.

In the ancient Church of San Celso, Milan, is preserved an antique church book, which contains a picture of the baptism of Christ. Bugatti claims that it was of the fifth or sixth century, but the water instead of being level, is in the form of a

pyramid, which marks the picture of much later date. Bugatti, who was a Bishop of Milan, in his Memoir of St. Celsus, describes the picture as follows: "The Redeemer is represented as immersed in the water according to the ancient discipline of the church, observed for many centuries in the administration of baptism. John holds in his left hand a curved and knotty staff, and places his right hand upon the Saviour's head. Finally the Holy Spirit descends from heaven in the form of a dove. The scene is found depicted in the most ancient Christian monuments."

Whatever may be the date of the picture it is quite certain it is a representation of immersion.

THE BAPTISTERY AT PARMA.

In the baptistery at Parma, on the pilaster and lunette of the northern gate, is a carved picture of the baptism of Christ in the Jordan. From an

official report of the Baptistery forwarded to the Pope on November 21, 1578, a copy of which is still preserved in the Church, it is declared: "We baptize by immersion."

MOSAIC IN SANTA PUDENTIANA, ROME.

On a mosaic in Santa Pudentiana, Rome, is a baptismal scene. Two nude persons are in a huge family bath, their legs being bent under them. This picture has been so frequently restored that it is of little value. Parker is forced to say of it: "The picture of St. Pudentiana

requires separate treatment. After a brief description, in terms of high and deserved praise, Messrs.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle pronounce that the state of this mosaic is not such as to permit a fair and impartial judgment,' as to the real date of the various parts of it. We presume, 'This mosaic has been repaired at different periods, and some parts entirely renewed. The head and figure, which preserve their character most completely, are those of St. Pudentiana. The head of the Saviour is by no means exempt from restoring. The group to the right of the Saviour, including the lower part of that figure, is new. Though restored, however, the mosaic has the character, the costume, and the style of that of St. Costanza.

"Careful inspection of photographs inclines the present writer to believe that this is correct and somewhat within the truth. His own conjecture would be that that mosaic in its present state contains fragments of the fourth century, of the earliest and best times of Christian mosaics; but that these fragments have been rearranged and repaired, up to and during the time of the Renaissance of the sixteenth century; and that such restorations have been made with so high degree of skill and sense of beauty as to amount

to a re-creation of the original picture or pictures" (Parker, Achæology of Rome, vol. 11, p. 153).

Of course the critical value of such a mosaic is not great.

The administrator has his hand on the candidate's head as if in the act of immersing him. Lundy explains it as a nude "trine imersion and confirmation" (Lundy, Monumental Christianity, p. 383).

Alcuin, who in the eighth century saw this representation of baptism said of it: "Baptism is performed in the name of the most holy Trinity by trine immersion, and rightly so, because man, being made in the image of the holy Trinity, is restored to the same image, and because he fell into death by a three-fold gradation of sin, he thrice rises from the font to life through grace" (Ibid).

Ciampani, citing ancient authorities, says that "the baptized were immediately confirmed after baptism in ancient times, and that, therefore, necessarily, the bishop both baptized and confirmed; but when the bishop was absent and the

baptism was performed by another, confirmation was administered as soon after as possible." Moreover: "It was customary for the bishop to give the white garments to the candidates after their immersion, together with the blessing and the kiss of peace; but when where ever it was possible, baptism must be by immersion; but when there were no streams or springs or other waters large enough to admit of this mode of baptism, then the water was poured over the head of the candidate. When the priest baptized, he laid his hand lightly upon the head of the candidate, to intimate that his whole body had been plunged under the water."

The mosaic bears the significant inscription in Latin: "Here in the living font the dead are born again." Of course this indicates that the form of baptism portrayed was an immersion.

THE CHURCH OF ST. LAURENCE.

There is a picture of the twelfth century (Smith and Cheetham, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 170), of St. Laurence pouring water upon the head of St. Romanus and Lucillus. The picture is found in the portico of the Church of St. Laurence outside the walls of Rome.

The picture is based upon a statement found in the writings of Walafrid Strabo of the ninth century. Strabo says: "It is to be noticed that many were baptized, not only by immersion, but by pouring water over them; and if there was any necessity baptism could be administered in that way; as in the Passion of the blessed Laurence we read that a certain person was baptized from a pitcher brought in" (Patrol. Lat., vol.

114, pp. 957-959). Strabo does not reason well since he says "many" were poured upon when he only mentions two examples from antiquity; and that they were thus to be baptized only in cases of necessity. But there was no necessity confronting Romanus and immersion was the ordinary form in the time of Strabo. Strabo's opinion, however, was based upon "The Acts of St. Laurence" which are notoriously mixed with falsehoods of the most glaring character (Wall, History of Infant Baptism, vol. 1, p. 574), and are not worthy of credence. The story of St. Laurence is scarcely reliable in details, being first mentioned by Ambrose a century later and then glorified by the poet Prudentius. The most of "The Acts of St. Laurence" may be classed as a Popish forgery.

No just argument can be made for affusion from such a picture. Bottari, the Roman Catholic archæologist, truthfully says: "And although on the portico of the Church of San Lorenzo, outside of the walls of Rome, that saint is seen in a painting pouring water upon the head of San Romano. this was certainly not the case, as that picture is far more modern than those of the first centuries, and the artist was evidently ignorant or wrongly

informed concerning the acts of San Lorenzo" (Bottari, Roma Sotterranea, tom. 1. p. 194).

Father Mabillon and James Basnage have set the matter in a clear light as follows: "In the Church of St. Laurence, at Rome, part of the life of the Saint is depicted. Romanus is represented as naked, as having been just immersed. Laurence is pouring water out of a vessel upon him, according to the custom of the Greeks, who besides trine immersion poured water upon the head of the baptized. The picture is taken from the book The Acts of St. Laurence. The book is wholly spurious or extremely corrupted. Nor it is likely that Laurence, a deacon of Rome, should practice a custom of the Greeks; or that the Greeks, who were always exceedingly attached to immersion, did practice superfusion at the time of Laurence; and if the whole account of Laurence were true (and it is not supported by ancient testimony) such a baptism was contrary to the laws and usuages of the church, and therefore it would not prove that the fathers departed from the practice of immersion" (John Mabillon, Iter Ital.

Jac. Basnagii, Prefat in lection. Canisii Cap. v. De Immersione).

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SOPHIA.

There is a painting of the baptism of Christ upon the door of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Sophia, in Nowgorod, Russia. It is from the German City of Madgeburg and belongs to the second half of the twelfth century. Jesus stands in the water which is heaped up pyramid fashion to his hips, his hands hang by his side, one of them hidden by the water, his hair is long and he has the nimbus. John the Baptist has one hand upon his head and the other on his breast in the act of dipping Jesus in the river of Jordan. The dove is present; but there are no angels.

THE CATHEDRAL IN SUSDAL.

Of the eleventh century belongs a bronze door of the Cathedral of Susdal, Russia. An elaborate

description and picture of this door may be found in "The Antiquities of Russia" which are published in six magnificent volumes. The text is in Russian except a slight introduction in French. Among the engravings on the door is one of the baptism of Jesus (Antiquities de l'empire de Russie, Moscau 1849, vol. 6, No. 30). Jesus stands in the river naked, with one foot forward and one backward so that the limbs form a cross. One hand is placed over a portion of his body and the other is extended to John. John looks upward and one of his hands rests on the head of Jesus. Two angels stand with clothes on the other bank of the river. At the feet of Jesus is a cross on a small pillar. In the clouds is a hand from which descend rays of light. It is the usual Greek picture of immersion.

A MEDALLION IN MOSCOW.

A Medallion, in Moscow, is an interesting study (Antiquities de Russia, vol. 1, No. 111). The river pours from behind down a steep cliff. Jesus stands in the deep water with apparently no firm place for his feet. His limbs are crossed and two fishes swim around him. John the Baptist from a steep bank bends low to immerse Jesus before the onlooking angels. A figure, with a sun about his head, repre-

sents the Father. Still higher are inscriptions and at the top the clouds roll over the scene. It is an elaborate and striking picture of immersion.

THE ST. SOPHIA CHURCH IN NOWGOROD.

An examination has already been made of a Byzatine work of art in Russia in the Cathedral of Susdal. Here is another of the same style, of the year 1236, in the door of Sophia Church, in Nowgorod (Antiquities de Russie, vol. 6, No. 33). The figures are very tall. Jesus stands in the water with both hands extended to John. John has one hand on the head of Jesus and the other raised heavenward. On the opposite bank angels are intently watching the scene. From above comes the approval of heaven.

THE MADONNA OF WLADIMIRS.

In a border which contains the Madonna of Wladimirs, in Russia, is a picture of the baptism

of the Lord (Antiquities de Russie, vol. 1, No. 1). The banks of the stream are steep. Jesus stands erect in the Jordan, while John from a high bank bends low to immerse him. The angels bow before the Saviour. The rays of light come down from above in three streams. It is an interesting phase of the Russian ceremonies in the baptismal act.

XIV.

PICTURES GATHERED FROM MANY PLACES.

Some pictures of late date and little value are now given.

Here is a picture of the Lombardian king and queen, Argilulfus and Theolinda. They are in a huge tub or bath, entirely unrobed save the coronets on their heads. It would be ridiculous to strip these persons and put them in a bath tub for the purpose of sprinkling water upon them. There is too great a display of nudity and too

much water for affusion. Father Mabillon says this represents a Greek baptism, where the immersion is finished by an affusion; or a baptism where the font is too small and the immersion is finished by an affusion. The artist, doubtless, thought he could give a just notion of an immersion by placing the lower portion of the body in water, and have another person to pour water over the upper part of the body which is out of the water, and thus the candidate would be wet all over. Even Hofling queries if such an "affusion would not be regarded more as an immersion than as a simple pouring" (Hofling, Sakrament der Taufs, 51). In regard to these affusions accompaning immersions, the words of the late Dr. Basil Manly, of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, are recalled. He says: "As to these ancient affusions which occurred in connection with baptism, we are not troubled about them. We need not go further than our author's own data for evidence that they were not the baptismal act, but an addition or appendage to it, which sprung up in very early times; and which, after a while, began to be accepted, in some in-

stances of special emergency, as a substitute for the original ordinance—a compendium or abridged rite, instead of that which Christ appointed and the apostles practiced."

THE MINERVA LIBRARY.

Mr. Cote refers to another baptism of the Saviour thus: "There is a miniature of the eighth or ninth century, representing the rite of baptism by immersion, which belongs to an unnumbered manuscript in the large Library of the Minerva at Rome. The Redeemer stands in the water up to his waist; John places his right hand upon the Saviour's head, and on the other side of the stream are ministering angels. The title of this valuable manuscript is 'Benedictio Fontis,' or the Blessing

of the Font represented in the annexed cut, in which the archbishop, surrounded by his clergy, pronounces a special blessing on the baptismal waters, previous to administering the rite" (Cote Baptism and Baptisteries, p. 57).

The inscription on the picture is: "Who walketh with his feet upon thee, and was baptized by John into the Jordan." And an accompanying ritual prescribes: "And he baptized with trine immersion, saying: 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and dips once, and in the name of the Son, and dips again, and of the Holy Ghost, and dips the third time."

THE BAPTISTERY OF VENICE.

Robertson describes a similar picture of the baptism of Christ, of about the same date, found in the Baptistery of Venice. He says: "In the river stands Jesus naked, with the water nearly up to his shoulders. On the left bank stands John the Baptist, a tall, thin man, his hair disheveled, his beard not long but rough, habited in a short, shaggy skin, over which a light cloak is thrown, the whole covering him from the elbows to the knees. He is leaning toward the river; his left hand is just

seen behind, spread open and lifted up, and his right hand is on the head of Jesus, as if pressing him down gently into the water, while Jesus seems to be yielding to the water under the hand of John" (Robertson, History of Baptism, p. 117).

A similar picture of the baptism of Christ is now in the British Museum. The Saviour stands nude in a hillock of waters reaching nearly up to the shoulders, while John has his right hand on the Saviour's head to immerse him.

There is an interesting picture of the baptism of the Eunuch, found in a Greek Psaltery, of the eleventh century, in the Barberiana Library, in Rome; and also in a Byzantine manuscript in the British Museum. The Eunuch is standing up to his neck in a pyramid of waters and Philip stands on the outside of the waters. Close by are two men in a chariot galloping away. The picture represents an immerson.

In a manuscript of the eleventh century, in the Bibliotheque Nationale, at Paris, is a picture of the baptism of Jewish converts administered by John; and it is interesting in that it shows the candidates covered with water.

XV.

THE CONCLUSION.

The leading pictures on baptism have now been examined and that their general teaching points to immersion as the form of baptism cannot be doubted. Several conclusions may be formed:

1. The pictures belong to, for the most part, the most Popish country of earth. Dr. Warfield is compelled to admit: "Our attention is at least called to the important fact that our early monumental evidence is local,—confined to Rome and Roman dependencies" (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* October, 1896, p. 626). It was in Ravenna after it had passed out of the hands of the Greeks, into the possession of the Pope, in 1311, that the first law was passed making sprinkling an authoritative baptism. And as Wall has well said, sprinkling was "introduced in times of popery; and that accordingly all of those countries in which the usurped power of the pope is or has been owned have left off dipping of children in the font; but

that all other countries in the world (which have never regarded his authority) do still use it; and that basins, except in cases of necessity, were never used by papists or any other Christians whatsoever till by themselves" (Wall, History of Infant Baptism, vol. 1, p. 583).

The continued practice of immersion in Italy, when almost every other phase of primitive Christianity had been changed shows how strongly dipping was grounded in antiquity.

2. There is no certainty in regard to the dates of many of the most important pictures. The places where they are found are damp and they have been subject to decay; and hence it has frequently been found necessary to restore them. This has not always been done by a competent hand; and besides the Catacombs, and Churches, have frequently been robbed of their treasures. "The student of Christian archæology," says Bishop Maitland, "must never lose sight of the distinction between the actual relics of a persecuted church and the subsequent labors of a superstitious age" (Maitland, The Church in the Catacombs, p. 13). On these accounts conclusions

must be slowly reached, and there is no room for dogmatic assertions.

3. The foremost archæological scholars, after patient investigation, all conclude that the form of baptism was immersion. Some of these testimonies come from unexpected quarters.

Dr. Warfield, Presbyterian, says: "The idea in any case would be an entire bath. The candidate standing in the water, this would be accomplished either by sinking the head beneath the water or by raising the water over the head" (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* October, 1896, p. 627).

Dr. Bennett, Methodist, although ardently defending affusion, makes this admission: "When we consider the fact that monumental evidence is invaluable because of its unconscious character, and also when we remember the testimony of the archaic document, 'The Teaching of the Twelve,' we are compelled to believe that immersion was the usual mode of administering baptism from the first to the twelfth century, but there was early a large measure of Christian liberty allowed in the Church, by which the mode of baptism could be readily adjusted to the peculiar circumstances" (Bennett, Christian Archæology, p. 407). He had

already admitted that the early Christians baptized "by dipping or immersion" (Ibid, p. 397).

Prof. Smyth, of Andover Theological Seminary, in a rather partisan article on Christian Art, admits: "We think that the strength of their (Baptist scholars') position in the historic field has not been duly appreciated by many of their opponents. The ordinary practice of the church, we cannot doubt, was in principle very much what 'Teaching' indicates; that is, the regular, ordinary mode, the full realization of the symbolism of the rite, required submersion, or a complete covering with water. And Baptist scholars have fairly pressed this fact in support of their argument as to the apostolic practice. Words did not wholly change their meaning in passing from the first century to the second and third centuries. Neither did rites entirely lose their substance. It is right and proper to argue back, therefore, from language and usage in the latter time to what was instituted in the apostolic age. If immersion was the only recognized mode in the time of Tertullian and his contemporaries, and there is no evidence of change in language and practice in

the intervening years, we may fairly presume it was the only mode in the apostolic church. If 'baptize' means 'dip' solely in church administration, it means 'dip' as uttered by our Lord, and, as we have said, looking at church usage and patristic testimony, the Baptists, in our judgment, have the best of the argument, so far as historic fact merely is involved" (*The Andover Review*, May, 1884, p. 556).

The Independent says: "The only room for controversy, then, as far as these pictures are concerned, is whether immersion was total (submersion) or partial. From the symbolical meaning of the act—a complete cleansing from impurity—we have a right to infer that the immersion was as complete as the depth of the accessible stream or fountain would admit. Thus interpreted, the pictorial representations are in entire harmony with the patristic descriptions and the present practice of baptism in all of the Oriental churches.

"Let us honestly admit the facts of history on both sides, and then adjust our controversies in the truly Christian spirit, which is the spirit of liberty" (*The Independent*, March 5, 1885).

The Jesuit, P. Raffaele Garrucci, who wrote an

elaborate and magnificent work on Christian Art says that the most ancient and solemn rite was "to immerse the person in the water, and three times also the head, while the minister also pronounced the names;" and he calls the sprinkling of water on the candidate's head a "substitution" (Garrucci,Op. cit. I., p. 27 sq.).

Prof. Smyth, commenting on these words of Garrucci, says: "Symbolically, however, there is no doubt that the original conception of baptism implied that the whole person was the subject of the purifying rite, and therefore it was natural and fitting, and doubtless was the primitive and ordinary practice, to apply the water to the entire body. When, somewhat later in the century, in which these frescoes were painted, Cyprian expressed his approval of clinic baptism, or sprinkling, he used the expressive and instructive phrase, 'the divine abridgements' (*compendia*), meaning that any less total use of water than immersion is an abridgement of the full rite, though equally effective when sufficient reason exists for such curtailment. The representation in art of the candidate standing in water is doubtless a part of the symbolism which is more fully expressed, even

though only the head be sprinkled" (*The Andover Review,* May, 1884, p. 540).

Wharton B. Marriott, Episcopalian, says: "Tripple immersion, that is thrice dipping the head while standing in the water, was but all the universal rule of the church in early times. Of this we find proof in Africa, in Palestine, in Egypt, at Antioch and Constantinople, in Cappadocia. For the Roman usage Tertullian indirectly witnesses in the second century, St. Jerome in the fourth, Leo the Great in the fifth, and Pope Pelagius and St. Gregory the Great in the sixth. Theodulf of Orleans witnessed for the general practice of his time, the close of the eighth century. Lastly, the Apostolical Canons, so called, alike in the Greek, the Coptic and Latin versions, give special injunctions as to the observance, saying that any bishop or presbyter should be deposed who violated this rule" (Smith and Cheetham, Dict. Christ, Antiq., vol. 1, p. 161).

Dr. Joseph de Vicecombes, Roman Catholic, says: "I will never cease to profess and teach that only immersion in water, except in cases of necessity, is lawful baptism in the church. I will refute that false notion that baptism was admin-

istered in the primitive church by pouring or sprinkling" (Vicecombes, Ch. 6, Bk. 4).

John Mabillon, Roman Catholic, says that pouring "was contrary to an express canon of the ninth century; contrary to the canon given by Stephen, which allowed pouring only in cases of necessity; contrary to the general practice in France, where trine immersion was used; contrary to the practice of the Spaniards, who used single immersion; contrary to the opinion of Alwin, who contended for trine immersion; and contrary to the practice of many who continued to dip unto the fifth century" (Mabillon, Acta Sanct. Ord. Ben., par. ii, Præf, c. VII, 186).

4. The pictures were frequently connected with baptisteries, and were supposed to illustrate the immersions which took place in them. In no country were baptisteries more plentiful than in Italy. On this point as illustrating the pictures, the opinion of Dr. Schaff is given. He says: "River baptism gradually ceased when baptisteries began to be built in the age of Constantine in or near the churches with all of the conveniences for the performance of the rite. They are very numerous, especially in Italy. They went out of

use when immersion ceased in the West. The last is said to have been built in Pistoria, in Italy, A. D. 1337" (Schaff, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 41). And for fear that some one would misunderstand the purpose for which the baptistery was built he further states: "The baptisteries of the Nicene age, of which many remain in Asia, Africa and Southern Europe, were built for immersion, and all Oriental churches still adhere to this mode" (Schaff, The History of the Christian Church, vol. 2, p. 248, note).

5. Add to the reasons already given the further fact that the most of the pictures were painted, and many of the baptisteries were built by the Greeks, who never practiced anything but immersion, and there is a complete demonstration that the pictures must allude to immersion.

The opinion of a distinguished member of the Greek Church at this point will be appreciated. We have this from the scholarly Prof. Nicolas Gluboksffski, of St. Petersburg. He says:

"1. On questions of this kind the archæological testimonies are the most impartial, and therefore the most just.

"2. But in the present case the iconographic

images confirm merely the testimony of the Scriptures of the New Testament, that St. John Baptist (Matthew 3:6; Mark 1:9, 10; Luke 4:1; John 1:28) and Jesus Christ (John 3:22, 26), and most of the disciples (John 4:2), and the apostles (Acts 8:36-39; 16:13-15) baptized habitually by immersion, and not by affusion. It is clear, and it is especially mentioned that there was much water (John 3:23).

"3. It is evident from the iconographic monuments, that they pictured to themselves the baptism of Jesus by immersion, and this alone is always and altogether represented. The isolated iconographic indications of the usage of affusion or aspersion are found only in the Occident, but not before the VIII. or IX. centuries. The remarkable exception on the mosaic of Ravenna cannot but confirm this, for the vase in the hand of John Baptist was made by a restorer, very much later.

"4. Representations of this kind can only serve to prove a dominant usage; they are souvenirs of an event that is passed; but in the present case all of the indications assure us of a perfect parallelism between the representation of the

baptism of Jesus Christ and liturgic practice. This is also evident on the two representations of the Sacrament Chapel of Calixtus, where the baptism of the common people presupposes clearly immersion, and not affusion; otherwise all of the details of the painting would be superfluous.

"5. To researches on the question of baptism according to the archæological material, one must bear in view above all the arrangement of the baptisteries and other attributes of baptism" (Letter to myself, June 5, 1900).

Prof. W. Sanday, Oxford University, England, says: "I am of the opinion that the frescoes, mosaics, etc., that have come down to us do represent immersions" (Letter to myself, June 15, 1900).

Those who practice immersion have nothing to fear from an investigation of archæology, sculpture and art. With every investigation of antiquity the practice of immersion is confirmed. But what need is there of confirmation? The baptism of Jesus in the river of Jordan and the commands which he has left us, the invariable acts of the Apostles, the symbolism of the rite, are so plain that there need to be no confirmation in regard to the form of baptism.

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